A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.

Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*

Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hall.

VOL. XXXV.

LONDON:

Printed for S. CROWDER and Co. in *Pater-noster-Row*, and J. WILKIE, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard.*

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of GEORGE I. continued. A. D. 1723.

The attention of the parliament was ſtill engaged in concerting meaſures for defeating the intended conſperacy. A bill was introduced into the upper houſe for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* act for a whole year.

This measure was violently opposed by the earls of Anglesey, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningsby, the lords Trevor, Bathurst, and Bingley. They represented, that, as the *Habeas Corpus* act was universally allowed to be the greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, it did not consist with the wisdom of parliament to suspend it, without an absolute necessity: that, in cases, indeed, of actual rebellion, or intended invasion, that act had, at different times, been suspended; but that had been done very sparingly, and never for above the term of six months: that this consideration filled them with the most melancholy apprehensions for the very being and existence of that excellent law, inasmuch as the suspension of it for a year might be made as good a precedent for suspending it, on another occasion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent now was for the present suspension: that the horrid and detestable conspiracy, which occasioned this suspension, having been discovered above five months ago, and divers of the conspirators already imprisoned, it was not at all reasonable to suppose, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful and diligent ministry, would continue for a year or more longer; at least, not in so high a degree as

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to require an annihilation of the liberty of the subject; for such they considered the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act to be: that, by this bill, the ministry were invested with an authority almost as arbitrary and extensive as that of a Roman dictator, since they might inflict, even on innocent persons, (who should have the misfortune to displease them) a punishment of above a year's imprisonment, which, in a land of liberty, was a most intolerable grievance: that the dictatorial power among the Romans was always laid down, immediately after the occasion, for which it had been given, ceased; and it deserved to be remarked, that it was never continued much longer, till a little before the commonwealth of Rome, from which all modern states drew so many maxims of government, was deprived of its liberty: that so long a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act weakened the provision made in the bill for the members of either house, by which they were secured against commitment or detainder, during the sitting of parliament, until the matter had been first communicated to the respective houses, and the consent of them obtained; inasmuch as it was very probable that the parliament would not be sitting during the greatest part of the time, for which this bill

was enacted, and would continue in force; that such was the weakness of human nature, that the apprehensions of what might befall a member of parliament, during the vacation, might have some influence on his behaviour in the house, and might prevent him from using that freedom of speech which he would otherwise exert, and to which he was entitled by the laws of the land: and finally, that, since so long a suspension was attended with so many inconveniences, he thought it advisable and consistent with the usual prudence of that august assembly, to reduce it to the term of six months; at the end of which, if it appeared necessary, it might be continued for six months longer, as was done before in this very reign, during the late rebellion.

These objections were answered by the dukes of Argyle, Wharton, and Newcastle, the lords Townsend, Harcourt, Carteret, and others. They said, that the *Habeas Corpus* act had been suspended upon much less important occasions, even upon bare suspicion of a plot; whereas the king had now laid before the parliament the particulars of a conspiracy to introduce a Popish pretender: that it was the more necessary to continue the suspension for a whole year, because the conspirators would probably lie still

ſtill during the winter, and renew their attempts in the ſummer, when the parliament was prorogued, and when, perhaps, they might expect to receive aſſiſtance from ſome foreign princes. After theſe, and ſome other ſpeeches, the bill was carried without a diviſion, and ſent down to the commons, where, notwithſtanding a violent oppoſition, it was likewiſe paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of high treaſon. As a further proof of the plot, the king ſent to the houſe of peers the original, and printed copy, of a declaration ſigned by the Pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, 1722; and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates. In this paper the Pretender, who thought proper to aſſume the title of *James Rex*, affected to talk of the late violations of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions; infamous informers; and the ſtate of proſcription, in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be. He then very gravely propoſed, that, if king George would reſign to him

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the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return, beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it. He likewiſe promiſed to leave to king George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place.

The lords having peruſed this declaration, reſolved, that it was a falſe, ſcandalous and traiterous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal-Exchange. The commons concurred in theſe reſolutions. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the inſolence of the Pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty they were determined to ſupport his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

The commons prepared a bill for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all Papiſts, or perſons educated in the Papiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders. This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the friends of the Papiſts, as a ſpecies of perſecution: but, notwithſtanding all their objections, it was carried by a conſiderable majority, and ſent up to the lords, together with another, obliging all perſons being Papiſts, in Scotland,

land, and all perſons in Great-Britain, refuſing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both bills paſſed thro' the upper houſe without amendment, and were ſoon after confirmed by the royal ſanction.

Mr. Layer, being brought to his trial at the King's-bench, on the twenty-firſt day of November, was convicted of having enliſted men for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion; and received ſentence of death. He was repreived for ſome time, and examined by a committee of the houſe of commons: but as he refuſed to make any diſcovery, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed npon Temple-bar.*

Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the houſe, that from the examination of Layer and others, it appeared, that a deſign had been formed by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender upon the throne of theſe realms: that this firſt intention was to have procured a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conſpirators being diſappointed in this expecta-

* A. D. 1723.

expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time, when it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized: that this scheme being also defeated by the wise and vigourous measures of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy: that their acting agents were Christopher Layer, and John Plunket who travelled with him to Rome, Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, a non-juring clergyman, Neynoe, the Irish priest, who, by this time, was drowned in the river Thame, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mr. Spelman, alias Yallop, and John Simpel: and that these noblemen seemed to have employed the persons of meaner

meaner rank to carry on their correſpondence, as the moſt effectual means to ſcreen them from all ſuſpicion of guilt; or, in caſe of being ſuſpected, to prevent a diſcovery. This report was no ſooner read, than the commons reſolved, that a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy had been formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion, ſeizing the Tower and city of London, laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a popiſh pretender upon the throne.

Bills were brought in and paſſed, for inflicting pains and penalties upon John Plunket and George Kelly, who were, by theſe acts to be kept in cloſe cuſtody, during his majeſty's pleaſure, in any priſon in Great-Britain; and ſhould not attempt to eſcape from thence on pain of death, to be inflicted on them and their aſſiſtants.

Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the ſame nature, againſt Dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter. This was immediately brought into the houſe, though oppoſed by Sir William Wyndham, who af-

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firmed there was no other evidence againſt him, but conjectures and hearſays. The biſhop wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, intimating, that though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the houſe any trouble that day, contenting himſelf with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a membe Council being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the ſixth day of April, when moſt of the Tory members choſe to withdraw from the houſe. It was then moved, that the biſhop ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without conſent of parliament; but that he, nevertheleſs, ſhould not forfeit his goods and chattels.

The bill being paſſed and ſent up to the lords, the biſhop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth day of May. Himſelf and his council having been heard, the lords proceeded to examine articles of the the bill; and, when they had read it a third time, a motion was made to paſs it, which occaſioned long and warm debates. Earl Powlet ſaid, that the ſwerving, in ſuch an an extraordinary manner, from the fixed

rules

rules of evidence, and, therefore, from the maxims of juſtice, could not fail to be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to our excellent conſtitution. He was anſwered by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who affirmed, that, as extraordinary diſeaſes require extraordinary remedies, ſo, in caſes of extreme danger and neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate lay at ſtake, if the common law would not reach offenders, the legiſlature ought to exert itſelf.

The duke of Wharton, having ſummed up the evidences, and proved the inſufficiency of them, concluded with ſaying, that, let the conſequence be what it would, he hoped ſuch a helliſh ſtain would never ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe, as to condemn a man without the leaſt proof.

He was ſupported by the lord Bathurſt, who obſerved, that a Frenchman, it ſeems, having invented a machine which would not only kill more men at once than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable forever any man who ſhould be wounded by it, applied himſelf, in expectation of a reward, to one of the French miniſters, who laid the project before his late French majeſty; but that monarch, conſidering that ſuch an engine might ſoon be turned againſt his own men, did not think proper

to encourage it: that the inventor, disappointed in this quarter, came over to England, and offered his service to the British generals, who likewise rejected the proposal with indignation: that the use and application of the story was obvious at first sight; for, should the method of proceeding, which was now proposed, be adopted, it would certainly prove a very dangerous engine, and might be turned to the destruction of those very persons, by whom it was, at present, employed: that, in such a case, no man's life, liberty, or property would be secure; and, if the parliament was determined to go on at that rate, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter might be made criminal.

In proof of this, he quoted a passage from De Retz's memoirs, relating to cardinal Mazarin, who boasted, that, if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances attested by witnesses, cut off his head at pleasure. Then, turning to the bench of bishops, who had been unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred

hatred and malice, which ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome wild Indians, who believed, that they inherited not only the ſpoils, but the abilities of any great man, whom they had killed in battle.

The bill was ſupported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and the lord Lechmere, the laſt of whom, though he had, on ſeveral other occaſions, expreſſed his diſlike of ſuch extraordinary proceedings, declared, that, in his opinion, there was ſufficient evidence to ſupport the charge.

Earl Cowper replied, that the ſtrongeſt argument in behalf of the bill, was neceſſity; but that, for his part, he ſaw no neceſſity that could juſtify ſuch an unprecedented and dangerous proceeding, as the conſpiracy had, above twelve months before, been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it prevented: that, beſides the intrinſic weight and ſtrength of the government, the hands of thoſe at the helm had been ſtill further fortified by the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and the additional troops which had been raiſed; ſo that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the ſtate, though Plunket and Kelly were not impriſoned for life, nor the biſhop of Rocheſter driven into ba-

niſhment: that, on the contrary, if that prelate's talents and genius lay in contriving and carrying on ſtate intrigues, he thought him leſs dangerous at home than abroad: that the known rules of evidence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, were the birth-right of every ſubject in the nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both houſes of parliament, till altered by the legiſlature: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the Poſt-office, was a very dangerous precedent: in former times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital caſes, a man ſhould be affected by a ſimilitude of hands; but here the caſe was much worſe, ſince it was allowed, that the clerks of the Poſt-office could carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. He commended the biſhop's noble deportment in declining to anſwer before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceedings in this unprecedented manner againſt a lord of parliament, was ſuch an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if they ſubmitted to it, by paſſing this bill, they might be termed the laſt of Britiſh peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. After a violent debate, the queſtion was carried in the

the affirmative by a majority of forty voices, though ſeveral peers entered a proteſt.

By this act, the biſhop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was baniſhed the realm, and ſubjected to the pains of death, in caſe he ſhould return, as were all perſons that ſhould correſpond with him during his exile. Doctor Friend, who was a member of the houſe, and had exerted himſelf with great zeal in the biſhop's favour, was now taken into cuſtody on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices.

The next object that engaged the attention of the commons, was the ſcheme of a lottery to be drawn at Harburgh in the king's German dominions. The houſe appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time carrying on in London. The ſcheme was ſaid to be calculated for raiſing a ſubſcription to maintain a trade between Great-Britain and the king's territories on the Elbe; but it was a myſterious ſcene of iniquity, which the committee, whith all their induſtry, could not fully unravel.

Nevertheleſs, they reported, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, by which many perſons had been drawn in, to

their great loſs; and that the manner of carrying it on, had been a manifeſt violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of the lottery had, without any authority for ſo doing, made uſe of his majeſty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majeſty's ſubjects to engage or be concerned in the ſame. A bill was prepared to ſuppreſs this lottery; and to oblige the managers of it to make reſtitution of the money they had received from the contributors. It was likewiſe unanimouſly reſolved, that John lord viſcount Barrington of the kingdom of Ireland had been notoriouſly guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent ſcheme; for which offence he ſhould be expelled the houſe.

The emperor having granted a patent for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company at Oſtend, upon a ſcheme formed by one Colebroke, an Engliſh merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould repreſented to the houſe of commons the great detriment, which the Engliſh Eaſt-India company had already received, and was likely farther to receive, by this Oſtend company.

The houſe immediately reſolved, that for the ſubjects of this kingdom to ſubſcribe or be

be concerned in encouraging any ſubſcription, to promote an Eaſt-India company now erecting in the Auſtrian Netherlands, was a high crime and miſdemeanour; and a law was enacted for preventing Britiſh ſubjects from engaging in that enterprize. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, many Engliſh merchants embarked in the ſcheme; and the company was actually eſtabliſhed, to the great damage of the Engliſh, French and Dutch companies.

About the ſame time, an act paſſed, by which the two millions of the South-ſea company, which had been annihilated, were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law was made, for the more effectual execution of juſtice in that part of Southwark called the Mint, where great number of debtors had taken ſanctuary, on pretence of its being a privileged place. On the twenty-ſeventh day of May, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated inſtances they had given of their zeal and affection for his perſon and government, and of their inviolable attachment to the intereſt and welfare of their country.

His majeſty having raiſed the ſon of Mr, Robert Walpole to the peerage, in conſideration

ration of his father's ſervices; made a good number of church promotions; admitted the impriſoned lords and gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and ordered the biſhop of Rocheſter to be conveyed to the Continent; ſet out for Hanover on the third day of June, leaving the government in the hands of a regency, from which the prince of Wales was ſtill excluded, though lord Harcourt, a warm friend of the late miniſtry, was one of the number.

The king was attended by the two ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords Townſend and Carteret, who were reckoned able politicians. The affairs of the Continent had began to take a new turn. The different princes, whoſe intereſts were to have been determined at the congreſs of Cambray, piqued at the fruitleſs iſſue of that negociation, reſolved to enter into ſeparate engagements in order to accompliſh their reſpective ends.

A treaty was on the carpet between the Czar and the king of Sweden, favourable to the duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, the poſſeſſion of which had been guarantied to Denmark by the king of England, who began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The regent of France and the king of Spain had adjuſted all their differences;

rences; and their reconciliation was ſtrengthened by a double marriage between Philip's ſons and the regent's daughters.

Theſe two powers offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than the former; but inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Portmahon, as alſo upon the king's openly declaring againſt the Oſtend company. His Britannic majeſty was apprehenſive, that, ſhould the emperor be too hard preſſed on that ſubject, he might join the Czar and the king of Sweden, and promote their deſigns in favour of the duke of Holſtein.

On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed againſt the treaty of London. The pope had proteſted againſt any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. The king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuſcany, Parma, and Modena, had preſented memorials to the ſame purpoſe. France and Spain were inclined to ſupport them againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Europe ſeemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was diſtracted amidſt theſe oppoſite intereſts. By declaring againſt the emperor, he would have expoſed his German dominions. By ſeconding the views of the court of Vienna, he muſt have countenanced the new eſtabliſhment at Oſtend, which was ſo prejudicial to his Engliſh ſub-

ſubjects, and expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy.

In this critical dilemma, his majeſty acquitted himſelf with uncommon ability; and though he could not fully reconcile the contending powers, he yet prevented them from coming to an immediate rupture. He endeavoured to perſuade the emperor to compromize his differences with the king of Spain, and to deſiſt from the proſecution of the affair at Oſtend. In this laſt particular, however, he failed of ſucceſs. The Imperial court gave a general promiſe to obſerve the treaties, which had been concluded; but declined entering into any particular diſcuſſion.

Great-Britain, at this time, enjoyed a profound tranquility. Ireland was a little diſturbed by an incident, which ſeems to have been miſunderſtood by the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with copper coin, in which it was deficient.

When this money came to be circulated, a violent clamour was raiſed againſt it. The parliament of that kingdom, which met on the fifth day of September, reſolved, that the importing and uttering of copper-halfpence and farthings by virtue of Wood's pa-

patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented, in order to obtain the patent: that the halfpence wanted weight: that, even if the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of a hundred and fifty per cent: and that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would, at all times, be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to the king on this ſubject.

The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England, who declared, that, from the report of Sir Iſaac Newton and others of the Mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of the halfpence, the conduct of the patentee was altogether unblameable; and that the terms of the patent had been exactly fulfilled: that Wood's currency, in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of metal, exceeded all the copper money, which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of Charles the ſecond, James the ſecond, King William and queen Mary: that his majeſty's predeceſſors had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents

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The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England, who declared, that, from the report of Sir Iſaac Newton and others of the Mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of the halfpence, the conduct of the patentee was altogether unblameable; and that the terms of the patent had been exactly fulfilled: that Wood's currency, in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of metal, exceeded all the copper money, which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of Charles the ſecond, James the ſecond, King William and queen Mary: that his majeſty's predeceſſors had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents

tents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons: that none of thoſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it clandeſtinely nor in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſolicitor-general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular: and finally that it appeared by a great number of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſuch money in Ireland, which ſhewed the neceſſity of granting a patent.

Notwithſtanding this deciſion, the clamour of the Iriſh nation was induſtriouſly kept up by papers, pamphlets, and lampoons written by dean Swift * and others; but Wood having voluntarily reduced his coinage from one hundred thouſand to forty thouſand pounds, the noiſe was, in a great meaſure, ſilenced. The parliament of Ireland paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of quakers inſtead of an oath: and granted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the national debt, which amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

On

* Among other lampoons Swift is ſuppoſed to be the author of one which began with the following lines:

Now although to *draw water* is not very good;
Yet we all ſhould rejoice to be *brewers of Wood*.

On the tenth day of October England loſt a worthy nobleman in the death of lord Cowper, who had twice diſcharged the office of lord-chancellor, with equal judgement and ability. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who was carried off by an apoplexy in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon as prime miniſter. King George immediately received aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of the French court, to cultivate and improve the harmony ſo happily eſtabliſhed between the two nations.

The king arrived in London on the nineteenth day of December; and on the ninth of January* the parliament was aſſembled. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, congratulated them on ſucceſs of their endeavours during the laſt ſeſſion to promote the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented, ſo as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually diſcharged.

* A. D. 1724.

Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to conſider the eſtimates for the enſuing year. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen; and the majority, though not without violent oppoſition, agreed to maintain four thouſand additional troops, which had been raiſed in the courſe of the preceding ſummer; the whole number of effective men amounting to eighteen thouſand two hundred and ſixty-four. The expence was defrayed by a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound together with the malt-tax.

The nation having long and loudly complained of the injuſtice of protections granted by foreign miniſters, peers, and members of parliament, the commons reſolved, that all protections granted by members of that houſe ſhould be declared void, and immediately withdrawn; that none ſhould be granted for the future; and that if any member ſhould preſume to contravene this order, he ſhould make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the cenſure of the houſe. The lords made a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, with an exception of menial ſervants, and thoſe neceſſarily employed about the eſtates of peers. The public buſineſs being finiſhed, the king

cloſed

cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the twenty-fourth day of April.

About the ſame time he made ſome alterations in the miniſtry. The duke of Newcaſtle was appointed ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Grafton, lord-chamberlain; the lord Carteret, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr. Horatio Walpole was ſent as ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of France. In the month of May his majeſty inſtituted a profeſſorſhip for the modern languages in each univerſity; Mr. Gregory being nominated for Oxford, and Mr. Harris for Cambridge. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, a man of great parts but greater cunning, by the exertion of which he had thrown the nation into ſo much confuſion, and been the cauſe of ſuch miſery and miſchief to his country.*

* The practice of inoculation for the ſmall-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two princeſſes, Amelia and Caroline, the duke of Bedford, and his ſons, with many other perſons of diſtinction, underwent this operation with ſucceſs.

On the fifteenth of June died Dr. Henry Sacheverel, that famous incendiary, who had been the chief inſtrument, in the hands of the Tories, of effecting

In the beginning of this year, Philip, king of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo, ſent the marquis de Grimaldi, his principal ſecretary of ſtate, to his ſon, the prince of Aſturias, with a ſolemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to worſhip the bleſſed Virgin with the warmeſt devotion; and put himſelf and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was publiſhed through the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and the council of Caſtile reſolved, that Lewis, as acknowledged prince of Spain, might aſſume the reins of government without aſſembling the Cortez. The Engliſh miniſter at Paris was ordered to interpoſe in behalf of the French Proteſtants, againſt whom a ſevere edict* had lately been publiſhed; but his remonſtrance produced no effect.

The

fecting the diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough, and accompliſhing an entire change in the miniſtry.

* This edict ordained, that whoever performed any exerciſe of the reformed religion, if a man, ſhould be ſent to the gallies; if a woman, ſhould be ſhaved, and committed to priſon: that the Proteſtant preachers ſhould be put to death; and all who held communication, directly or indirectly with them, be condemned to the gallies.

The parliament re-aſſembling on the twelfth day of November, continued the former eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea-forces, and readily granted the neceſſary ſupplies. The chief object, which engaged their attention during the ſeſſion, was the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman, by conniving at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places, and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the maſters of chancery, had incurred ſuch a load of odium, that he found it neceſſary to reſign the great ſeal in the beginning of January.*

On the ninth day of the following month, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons acquainting them, that his majeſty having reaſon to apprehend, that the ſuitors in the court of chancery were in danger of loſing a conſiderable ſum of money, from the inſufficiency of ſome of the maſters, thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice and compaſſion to the ſaid ſufferers, to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual methods the law would allow, for inquiring into the ſtate of the maſters accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the ſuitors; and his majeſty having

* A. D. 1725.

ing had ſeveral reports laid before him, in purſuance of the directions he had given, had ordered thoſe reports to be communicated to the houſe, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings would admit.

Theſe papers being examined by the houſe, Sir George Oxenden obſerved, that it evidently appeared, from the reports, which his majeſty ſubmitted to their inſpection, and which had been drawn up by perſons of the greateſt abilities, and moſt undoubted integrity, that enormous abuſes had crept into the high court of Chancery, chiefly through the fault of the magiſtrate, who had preſided in that court, and whoſe duty it conſequently was to prevent ſuch miſmanagement: that the crimes and miſdemeanours of the late lord-chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled himſelf or ſuffered thoſe under him to embezzle, the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunaticks: that he had raiſed the offices of maſters in chancery to an exhorbitant price; truſting in their hands large ſums of money, belonging to ſuitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his

his extravagant demands: and that, in ſeveral caſes, he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, that Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanours.

He was ſupported by Mr. Strickland, and Mr. Doddington, one of the lords of the treaſury; but oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney, who ſaid, that he was far from endeavouring to abate the juſt reſentment which the houſe ſhewed againſt the great abuſes that had been committed in the court of Chancery; but, in his opinion, they proceeded with too little deliberation in ſo weighty and important an affair, by which means they might loſe the very end they propoſed, the inflicting condign puniſhment upon the perſon, to whoſe neglect, at leaſt, thoſe abuſes had been owing: that whatever deference they ought to pay to the capacity, experience, and integrity of the perſons, who had drawn up the reports that had been laid before them; yet it was inconſiſtent with the dignity, and even derogatory to the prerogative of that houſe, which is the grand inqueſt of the nation, to found an impeachment upon thoſe reports, without a previous inquiry into the proofs that were to ſupport it.

He therefore moved that this affair might be referred to the conſideration of a ſelect com-

committee. He was seconded by Sir William Wyndham, who urged, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals. Notwithstanding these objections the question was carried for the impeachment by a considerable majority.

The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper house: a committee was appointed to draw up the articles: and a bill was brought in to indemnify the masters of chancery from the penalties of the law, against buying and selling of offices, upon their discovering what consideration they had paid for their admission to their respective places. The trial lasted twenty days: the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, and ordered to be imprisoned till that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon his producing the money, he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

The debts of the civil list being now increased to above five hundred thousand pounds,

pounds, his majeſty, in a meſſage, acquainted the commons, that having been engaged in ſome extraordinary expences, he hoped, from the known zeal and affection of his parliament, he might be enabled to make uſe of the funds lately ſettled for the payment of the civil-liſt annuities, in order to raiſe a ſum of money ſufficient to diſcharge the debts contracted in his civil government.

Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the houſhold, who began to be diſſatisfied with the miniſtry, moved for an addreſs, that an account ſhould be laid before the houſe of all the monies paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March 1721, to the twenty-fifth day of the ſame month in the preſent year.

This addreſs being voted, a motion was made to conſider the king's meſſage. Mr. Pulteney alledged, that this conſideration ought to be deferred, until the houſe had examined the papers that were the ſubject of the addreſs. He expreſſed his ſurprize, that ſo great a debt ſhould be contracted in the ſpace of three years. He ſaid, he did not wonder, that ſome perſons ſhould be ſo eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-liſt, ſince they and their friends enjoyed ſo great a ſhare of that revenue. And he de-

desired, to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they should expect another reckoning.

It was answered that, besides the debt on the civil-list, there were indeed a great many pensions; but that most of these had been granted by king William and queen Mary, some by king Charles the second, and very few by his present majesty: that, since the civil-list was first settled for his majesty, there had been an annual expence of above ninety thousand pounds, which could not be then foreseen, and for which therefore no provisions had been made: and that, upon examining the account of the civil-list debts, it would appear, that most of these expences had been for the necessary support of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the benefit and advantage of the people.

The commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of sixpence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent, till repayment of the principal.

On

On the twentieth day of April, a petition was preſented to the commons, by the lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viſcount Bolingbroke, praying, that the execution of the law might be ſuſpended with reſpect to his forfeitures, as a pardon had ſuſpended it with reſpect to his life. Mr. Walpole acquainted the houſe by his majeſty's command, that, ſeven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and ſubmiſſion to the king, with aſſurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity; that, from his behaviour ſince that time, his majeſty was convinced, of his being a fit object of his mercy; and therefore conſented to his petitioning the houſe.

The petition being read, Mr. Walpole ſaid, he was fully ſatisfied, that the petitioner had ſufficiently attoned for his paſt offences, and deſerved the favour of that houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, that was ſettled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the beſt lawyers, he could not do, by virtue of his majeſty's pardon, without an act of parliament.

He was ſeconded by the attorney and ſolicitor general, but oppoſed by Mr. Methuen comptroller of the houſhold, who obſerved, that, as he had the honour to be one of the king's

king's immediate ſervants, it might perhaps be thought unbecoming his ſtation to appear againſt a petition, to the preſenting of which his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to give his conſent; but being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which the petitioner ſtood attainted, were ſo heinous, ſo flagrant, and of ſo deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or attonement; and whatever he might have done to deſerve his majeſty's private grace and pardon, he was altogether unworthy of any national favour.

In proof of this he recapitulated every part of his mal-adminiſtration during the late reign: his clandeſtine negociation of peace; his inſolent behaviour to the members of the grand alliance; his ſacrificing the intereſt of the whole confederacy; and finally his deſign to defeat the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and advance the pretender to the throne of theſe kingdoms. He was ſupported by lord William Powlet and Mr. Onſlow; but, notwithſtanding all their objections, a bill was prepared, agreeable to the petition, paſſed both houſes, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

An act was paſſed for diſarming the Highlanders of Scotland; another, for regulating elec-

elections within the city of London, which is ſtill in force; and a third, for reducing the intereſt of ſeveral bank annuities from five to four per cent, together with ſome bills of a private nature. In May the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated inſtances they had given of their duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the honour and intereſt of their country. Then he appointed lords-juſtices to rule the nation in his abſence; and on the third day of June ſet out for his German dominions.

The ſtate of affairs on the continent had, by this time, undergone a conſiderable change. Lewis, the young king of Spain, dying ſoon after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip, reſumed the reins of government, which he had quitted; and reſigned himſelf entirely into the hands of the queen, who was a princeſs of deep intrigue and unbounded ambition.

The infanta, who had been married to Lewis the fifteenth of France, was ſo diſagreeable to her huſband, that he could never be prevailed with to conſummate his nuptials; and, as the whole French nation was alarmed with the apprehenſion of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without male iſſue, he reſolved, with the advice of his council,

to ſend her back to Madrid, whether ſhe was accordingly attended by the marquis de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs, the pretender's agent.

The queen of Spain was ſo highly incenſed at this inſult offered to her daughter, that ſhe diſmiſſed mademoiſelle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been contracted to her ſon, don Carlos. Not ſatisfied with this revenge, ſhe reſolved that the French ſhould have no farther concern with the affairs of Spain; and, as the congreſs of Cambray had proved ineffectual, ſhe offered to compromiſe her differences with the emperor under the ſole mediation of Great-Britain.

This was an honour, which king George declined. He was unwilling to take any ſtep that might interrupt the harmony ſubſiſting between him and the court of Verſailles: he was deſirous of diſuniting for ever the two branches of the Bourbon family: and he plainly perceived, that the emperor was, by no means, inclined to refer the diſputes to his arbitration

The queen of Spain, diſappointed in this quarter, propoſed a private negociation to the court of Vienna, which readily accepted the offer. The conferences were immediately opened, and conducted under the direction

rection of the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the Proteſtant religion, and engaged in the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty.

By the treaty of peace, which was ſigned at Vienna on the thirtieth day of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions that were ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London 1722. Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the queen of Spain, failing heirs in the preſent poſſeſſors, as maſculine fiefs of the empire. Spain guarantied the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatic ſanction, by which the dominions of that houſe were ſettled on the emperor's heirs of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment to the primogeniture.

In this treaty it is evident, there was nothing that could give umbrage to any of the powers of Europe. But the caſe was very different with the treaty of commerce. By this agreement the Auſtrian ſubjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain,

which were not granted to any other nation. Philip proposed to guaranty the Ostend East-India company, and to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of pieces of eight to the emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna, amounting nearly to one million sterling: the Imperial forces were augmented with an additional body of sixty thousand men: and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Russia actually acceded.

Besides these public engagements, which of themselves, were sufficient to alarm the jealousy of the king of England, there were other articles of a private, and of a still more dangerous nature. By these last the contracting parties were said to have bound themselves to procure to Spain the restitution of Gibraltar and Portmahon; to effect a double marriage between the two infants of Spain, and the two archdutchesses of Austria; and to employ their joint endeavours, in order to advance the pretender to the throne of Great-Britain.

To counteract the designs of these new allies, king George projected a defensive treaty between England, France, and Prussia. This alliance, to continue for the term of fifteen years, was negociated

and

and concluded at Hanover in the month of September.* It contained a mutual guaranty

* About this time was erected Guy's hoſpital at the ſole expence of Mr. Thomas Guy, formerly a book-ſeller in London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left a benefaction of two hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of that charitable eſtabliſhment.

On the fifth day of December, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a princeſs, chriſtened by the name of Louiſa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark.

About the ſame period the king revived the order of the knights of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the ſovereign. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viſcount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the bath, was now honoured with the order of the garter.

The duke of Wharton having ruined his fortune by riot and debauchery, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the pretender, where he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was ſent by the pretender, with credentials to the court of Madrid, where king George was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter under the privy-ſeal commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, as he rode through the ſtreets in a coach, he loudly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a Britiſh officer in juſtice in executing a ſummons upon him within ſight of his Catholic majeſty's palace. He even threatened to

pre-

of the dominions poſſeſſed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, with an engagement to procure ſatisfaction to the Proteſtants of Thorn, who had been oppreſſed by the Papiſts, contrary to the treaty of Oliva.

The king having taken theſe neceſſary precautions at Hanover, ſet out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetſluys on the firſt day of January;* and after having encountered a moſt furious and dreadful ſtorm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament being aſſembled on the twentieth day of the ſame month, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their Proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to have

preſent a memorial on the ſubject to the court of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the Engliſh meſſenger; but Philip, being privately acquainted with the matter, abſolutely refuſed to interpoſe his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the Proteſtant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the rank and appointments of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice.

* A. D. 1726.

have laid the foundations of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert, with other powers, such measures as might give a check to the ambitious view of those, who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs: that, with this view, he had entered into a defensive alliance with the kings of France and Prussia, to which several other powers, and particularly the States-General, had been invited to accede; and he had no reason to doubt, but they would readily give their concurrence: that, by these means, and by their support and assistance, he hoped he should be able, not only to secure to his own subjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long since acquired for them by the most solemn treaties, but effectually to preserve the balance of power in Europe, the only end of all his endeavours: that he questioned not, but the Jacobites flattered themselves with the hopes of deriving, from the prospect of fresh troubles and commotions, some favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts against his person and government: that they were already very busy

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have laid the foundations of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert, with other powers, ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious view of thoſe, who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable; and put a ſtop to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns: that, with this view, he had entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of France and Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the States-General, had been invited to accede; and he had no reaſon to doubt, but they would readily give their concurrence: that, by theſe means, and by their ſupport and aſſiſtance, he hoped he ſhould be able, not only to ſecure to his own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the balance of power in Europe, the only end of all his endeavours: that he queſtioned not, but the Jacobites flattered themſelves with the hopes of deriving, from the proſpect of freſh troubles and commotions, ſome favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts againſt his perſon and government: that they were already very

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busy, by their instruments and emissaries, in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender; but he persuaded himself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expect to receive, that the provision made by his parliament for the safety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually secure them from all danger of foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection: that, when the world should see, that they would not suffer the British crown and nation to be insulted with impunity, those, who most envied the tranquillity and happiness of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it subservient to their ambitious projects, would have some regard to their own interest and circumstances, before they presumed to make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by powerful alliances, and, however desirous of peace, able and ready to defend themselves against all aggressors: that such resolutions, and such measures, if timely taken, would, he was satisfied, be the most effectual means of preventing a war, and preserving, to his people, the blessings of peace and prosperity.

When

When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover were taken into conſideration by the houſe of commons, Horatio Walpole opened the debate with a long and ſtudied ſpeech, in which he gave a detail of the affairs of Europe ſince the treaty of Utrecht. He recapitulated the ſubſtance of the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defenſive alliance with the emperor, another with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-General, a ſubſequent convention, the quadruple alliance, the congreſs at Cambray, the treaty of Vienna, and that of Hanover.

He obſerved, that the ſudden and unexpected concluſion of a peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, had excited jealouſies in the other courts of Europe; jealouſies, which appeared to be the better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was ſoon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main ſcope and deſign of which was, to ſupport and countenance the Eaſt India company eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which interfered ſo eſſentially with the Eaſt-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force: that his majeſty, ever watchful for the intereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects, had cauſed ſtrong repreſentations

to be made on that ſubject, both to the emperor and the king of Spain: that, at the court of Madrid theſe complaints were received with coldneſs; at that of Vienna, with haughtineſs and contempt: that the Imperial miniſters even went ſo far as to inſinuate, that, if his Britannic majeſty perſiſted to oppoſe the treaty of Vienna, the emperor would not only think himſelf diſengaged from the guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, but might likewiſe be provoked to take ſome diſagreeable ſteps in relation to his majeſty's German dominions: that theſe inſulting menaces made no impreſſion upon his majeſty, nor deterred him from his fixed reſolution of concerting, with other powers, ſuch meaſures, as might diſappoint the ambitious deſigns of thoſe, who endeavoured to render themſelves formidable to their neighbours: that theſe meaſures ſeemed to be the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe, that the unexpected reconciliation of the emperor and the king of Spain, was owing to the conſtant view of the houſe of Auſtria, to render the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family; that, for the accompliſhing this end, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a match be-

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tween the emperor's eldeſt daughter, and the infant Don Carlos: that it was eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a marriage, the iſſue of which might, in time, be poſſeſſed, not only of all the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the Imperial dignity, but alſo of all the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy; an extent of power, which could not fail to overturn the ballance of Europe, and endanger the liberties of all the other ſtates of Chriſtendom: that this ſuppoſition would appear the more probable, when it was conſidered, that there was hardly any other way of accounting, either for the king of Spain's breaking through the moſt ſolemn treaties with Great-Britain, in favour of the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperor's ſo far forgetting the obligations he had to Great-Britain and Holland, as to enter into engagements to aſſiſt Spain towards the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and to perſiſt in ſupporting and countenancing the Oſtend company, eſtabliſhed evidently with no other view, than to deprive the ſubjects of the maritime powers of ſeveral of the moſt valuable branches of their trade: that, in order to prevent the farther progreſs, and final execution of theſe dangerous and deſtructive deſigns, the king had concluded the treaty

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of Hanover, the nature of which had been already laid before them: and that, from a candid compariſon of all circumſtances, he believed he might ſafely infer, that his majeſty had diſcovered the moſt conſummate wiſdom in all the meaſures he had taken.

The members in the oppoſition alledged, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made in the act of limitation. They were anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who obſerved, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not, wholly and for ever, to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this nation (for ſhould that be the caſe, his majeſty would, in this reſpect, be in a worſe condition after than before his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne;) but only to reſtrain the ſovereign, for the future, to engage the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain, without the conſent of parliament: that to this ſupreme court it was left to determine, whether or not ſuch a war was juſt and neceſſary: and that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that, if, in the preſent juncture and ſtate of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted,

ſulted, this nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies whatſoever.

He therefore moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain; and promiſing to ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. The addreſs was accordingly voted and preſented; and ſuch another was delivered by the houſe of lords in a body.

A bill was brought in, impowering the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treaſurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to forty-eight thouſand pounds. This deficiency was occaſioned by his engaging in the South-ſea ſcheme. The king recommended his petition; and the houſe complied with his requeſt, in conſideration of his great grand-father, the famous John Hampden, who made ſuch a noble ſtand againſt the arbitrary impoſition of ſhip-money in the commencement of the

civil war, and fell the first victim in the glorious cause of liberty.

It was easily foreseen, at the time of imposing the malt-tax upon Scotland, that the collection of it would be attended with some difficulty: and it soon appeared that these apprehensions were but too well founded. The excisemen at Edinburgh, indeed, were suffered to take an account of the stock of the malsters: but those at Glasgow were obliged to apply to the commissioners of excise for protection and assistance, their lives being threatened, if they presumed to visit the houses of the malsters.

The commissioners had recourse to major-general Wade, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, who ordered captain Bushel with two companies of foot to march to Glasgow, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth day of June. At their entrance into the town, they were met by a great mob of men, women, and boys, who loaded them with the most opprobrious epithets, and saluted them with repeated vollies of stones, exclaiming all the while, "no malt-tax, "no malt-tax." The rabble having locked the guard-room, and carried off the key, the captain was obliged to keep guard in a public house, which he hired for the purpose.

About

About eleven at night, he received information that a great crowd of people, amounting to ſeveral thouſand, had ſurrounded the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, member of parliament for Glaſgow, and threatened to plunder and raze it to the ground. This intelligence he immediately communicated to the provoſt, and offered his aſſiſtance in preventing the intended outrage.

The provoſt replied, that the number of his men was too inconſiderable, and that he could not think of employing them with any regard either to their own ſafety or that of the citizens. The rabble, meeting with no reſiſtance, nor even the leaſt appearance of oppoſition, forced open the doors, broke into the houſe, turned out the ſervants, (the gentleman and his lady having the day before retired into the country) and totally deſtroyed or carried off whatever could be found in the dwelling.

After this the mob continued tolerably quiet till next day about four in the afternoon, when they began to re-aſſemble. The captain ſuſpecting their intention, ordered the ſoldiers to keep near the guard-room, of which he had now taken poſſeſſion; and he ſoon found that this was a prudent and neceſſary precaution. In a little time the rabble began to advance againſt the ſoldiers,

exclaiming all the way, "drive the dogs out "of town: we will cut them to pieces."

The officer deſired them to behave civilly, and abſtain from violence; for if they continued to act in that manner, he ſhould not be able to reſtrain his men from firing upon them. Perceiving, however, that his advice was diſregarded, and that the rabble ſtill continued to preſs forward on the ſoldiers, ſeveral of whom were deſperately wounded, he ordered his men to fire over the crowd, hoping by [illegible] means to frighten and diſperſe them.

This expedient proving ineffectual; and the mob ſtill perſiſting to attack the guard-room, and repeating their vollies of ſtones with redoubled violence, the ſoldiers were tempted to fire among them, in conſequence of which three or four were killed and ſeveral others wounded. The populace, incenſed by the death of their companions, began to collect all the arms that could be found in the place; and the captain, conſcious of his own inability to reſiſt ſuch a numerous and enraged multitude, thought proper to retreat to Dunbarton, being purſued by the rabble to the diſtance of ſix miles.

General Wade was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he aſſembled a good body

body of forces, and, being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow. The magiſtrates were apprehended and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh, where the lords-juſticiary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent. Some of the rabble, however, were puniſhed for the riot, and four of them ſentenced to be ſcourged and tranſported.

Mr. Daniel Campbell, having petitioned the houſe of commons that he might be indemnified for the damage he had ſuſtained from the mob, a bill paſſed in his favour, granting him a certain ſum to be raiſed by an impoſition of two pennies Scotch upon all beer and ale brewed within the city of Glaſgow. Nevertheleſs the malt-tax was ſo ſenſibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs preſented an addreſs by the hands of John Campbell, member for Edinburgh, wherein, though they diſavowed the conduct of the Glaſgow rioters, they ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt that tax, as a heavy burthen which the country could not bear: and petitions of the ſame nature were delivered to the commons from different ſhires of that kingdom.

On the twenty-fourth day of March, the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, importing, that, as he had nothing more at heart than

to ſecure to his ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and to prevent and fruſtrate the deſigns that had been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, he had found it neceſſary, not only to augment his maritime force, but alſo to concert ſuch other meaſures, as might moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſireable ends; and as theſe ſervices would require ſome extraordinary expence, his majeſty hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to diſcharge the obligations he had already incurred, and to enter into ſuch other engagements as might be requiſite in the preſent conjuncture. This intimation produced a long and warm debate; but, at laſt, the majority complied with the demand.

As this affair had not been communicated to the lords, though the king mentioned "the aſſiſtance of his parliament," ſeveral peers were incenſed at ſuch an omiſſion. The earl of Strafford aſſerted, that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the ancient privileges of the peers, who are the grand ſtanding council of the ſovereign, the hereditary guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to the ſovereign, the principal part of the legiſlature, and there-

therefore ought to be conſulted in all matters of public concern. He therefore moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring to know, who adviſed him to ſend ſuch a meſſage to the commons; without, at the ſame time, communicating it to the peers.

This was oppoſed by lord Trevor, lately appointed privy-ſeal, who moved, that the further conſideration of the matter ought to be adjourned for a month. The lord Lechmere repreſented, that, as the ſubject of the preſent debate was of the utmoſt conſequence to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the ancient conſtitution of parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom, it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time as amounted to a total omiſſion: that it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the crown, to have, upon all occaſions, the advice of both houſes of parliament; and, as the meſſage in queſtion, though of the higheſt importance, was only ſent to the commons, without being intimated to the lords, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom: that the rights of the people of England were, in ſome meaſure, invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance

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of that houſe of parliament, without which no aid could be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubjects; that it was the undoubted, inherent, and fundamental right of the houſe of peers, to alter and amend all money-bills that came from the commons; and though, in ſome late inſtances, the commons had diſputed this right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it: that, according to ancient uſage, all demands of ſupply from the crown, ſhould be made to the houſe of peers; and therefore any other method of aſking money was unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the conſtitution.

Lord Bathurſt, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, obſerved, that the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, excluſively of the lords, was certainly a new and unprecedented ſtile, and far from being the language of former times: that though the commons had, of late, taken upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the lords for that purpoſe, and deſire them to provide for the public ſervice: that, if the lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked and neglected in this inſtance, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as had formerly been the caſe; and therefore, leſt

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any conſequence of this kind ſhould enſue, he was of opinion, that proper notice ſhould be immediately taken of this omiſſion, inſtead of delaying the conſideration of it for a month.

He was anſwered by the earl of Scarborough, who ſaid, that he did not deny, that the peers had a right to be conſulted in all matters of importance, and to give their conſent to money-bills; but in the preſent caſe, it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to the houſe of lords, becauſe their lordſhips had actually given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, in which that augmentation was plainly inſinuated: that, with regard to the circumſtance of the commons having formerly applied to the lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of that peculiarity was well known; all the money, and indeed all the property of the kingdom, was, at that time, in the hands of the lords: but ſince the reign of the two laſt Henrys the caſe was very much altered: the commons were now poſſeſſed of a proportionable ſhare both of the monied and the landed property: and their lordſhips ought to conſider the preſent ſituation of affairs, not that which had formerly exiſted.

After

After these and several other speeches the affair was adjourned for a month, and at length entirely laid aside. The business of the session being finished, the king came to the house of peers, and after giving his assent to the bills that were ready, dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, had died in the month of January, and his empress Catharine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. This princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, and prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition, King George, suspecting that her design was against Sweden, sent a squadron of twenty-one ships of war into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to disappoint her views upon the dominions of his allies.

The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, overawed the court of Russia, which immediately intermitted its military preparations, and gave orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronslot, Revel, and Riga. The British admiral, having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, directed his course towards Revel, and sent a lieutenant to Cron-

Cronſlot with a letter from the king of Great-Britain to the Czarina.

In this letter his majeſty obſerved, that he and his allies could not fail to be alarmed a her great preparations both by ſea and land in a time of profound peace. He complained, that his repeated inſtances to eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip with the crown of Ruſſia had been treated with neglect; that, while he was negociating in an amicable manner, and had not given the leaſt provocation, meaſures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender: and he finally told her, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ſhips from coming out of her harbours, ſhould ſhe perſiſt in her reſolution to execute the deſigns ſhe had formed.

He declared, however, that as it was his firm intention to live in harmony and friendſhip with Ruſſia, he heartily wiſhed that her majeſty, reflecting on the true intereſt of her ſubjects, would permit them to enjoy the bleſſings of that peace, which they had purchaſed at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, under the conduct of the late Czar; and that, rather than enter into meaſures, which muſt inevitably plunge Ruſſia into a war, and involve the whole north in confuſion, ſhe would pleaſe to give her people and all mankind convincing

vincing proofs of her inclination for peace, and of her good diſpoſition to live in quiet with her neighbours.

The Czarina, in her anſwer to the king, expreſſed her ſurprize, that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter, until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her and the crown of Great-Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armament, and expect her anſwer, before he had proceeded to ſuch a violent and offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him, that nothing was farther from her thoughts than to diſturb the repoſe of the north; that, on the contrary, all her care and attention was employed in its ſecurity and preſervation; and that with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and ſtale accuſation, which had frequently been uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps lately taken againſt the Ruſſian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his ſtation till October, when having received intelligence, that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter harbours, he ſet ſail for the coaſt of Denmark; and thence returned to England in November.

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The king's attention was not wholly confined to the affairs of the North: he had already equipped two other ſquadrons. One of theſe, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, and furniſhed with a body of land forces, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, who ſailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the Mediterranean, viſited the coaſts of Spain, over-awed the court of Madrid, cruiſed for ſome time between Cadiz and cape St. Vincent; but carefully abſtained from committing any act of hoſtility.

The other, compoſed of ſeven ſhips of war, was commanded by rear-admiral Hoſier, who ſailed in April for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, ſhould they preſume to come out, ſeize and bring them to England. He arrived at the Baſtimentos, near Porto Bello, in the beginning of June; but, before he reached that place, the treaſure, amounting to twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama, in conſequence of an order ſent by an advice-boat, which had got the ſtart of Hoſier.

Theſe meaſures were taken againſt Spain, in reſentment of the engagements, which that court had contracted with the court of Vi-

enna, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and the designs formed in favour of the pretender, at the instigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and earl Marischal, who were then at Madrid. Philip however, absolutely denied, that any such designs had been formed. He even dismissed from his service, though with a pension of three thousand pistoles, the duke de Ripperda, who had dropped some expressions, that seemed to imply such an intention. The duke, dreading the resentment of the ministry, took refuge in the house of Vandermeer, the Dutch ambassador: but not thinking himself safe in that retreat, he fled to the house of colonel Stanhope, the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained.

The house was immediately surrounded by a strong guard, which afterwards broke into it: and dragging the duke from thence by force, committed him prisoner to the castle of Segovia. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavoured to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts on the subject; and every thing seemed to portend an immediate rupture. The king of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make prepara-

parations for ſome important undertaking; and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the caſtle of Old Gibraltar. Mean while the king of Sweden and the States-general acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the king of Pruſſia, though his majeſty's ſon-in-law, was detached from the alliance, by the emperor, who promiſed to ſupport his pretenſions to the dutchies of Bergues and Juliers.

Such was the ſituation of affairs abroad, when the parliament of Great-Britain met on the ſeventeenth day of January.* The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that as the ſudden and unaccountable conjunction of the emperor and the king of Spain gave, at firſt, great grounds of jealouſy and apprehenſion to all the neighbouring powers of Europe, ſo the ſubſequent proceedings of thoſe two courts, and the ſecret and offenſive alliances formed between them, had laid the foundation of ſuch an exorbitant and formidable power, and were ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling privileges of the Britiſh nation, that they muſt either determine quietly to ſubmit to the peremptory and unjuſt

* A. D. 1727

juſt demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently to acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped and extended exerciſe of trade and commerce; or muſt reſolve to be in a condition to do themſelves juſtice, and to defend their undoubted rights againſt thoſe dangerous and pernicious engagements, contracted in defiance of all national faith, and in violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties: that he had received the moſt authentic intelligence, that the placing the pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of theſe ſecret engagements; and if time ſhould evince, that the giving up the trade of the nation to one power, and delivering Gibraltar and Portmahon to another, was made the price of impoſing upon it a Popiſh pretender, what an indignation muſt this raiſe in the breaſt of every true Briton! that theſe fatal combinations were not confined to thoſe parts of the world alone, but had alſo extended themſelves into Ruſſia; and, had not the deſigns of that court againſt ſome of their neighbours been prevented by the ſeaſonable arrival of the Britiſh fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way had been opened for invading this kingdom, and giving a powerful aſſiſtance to any attempt that might have been made from other quarters: that ſuch circumſtances would

would not ſuffer him and his allies, among whom there had been and ſtill was the moſt powerful harmony and concord, to be idle ſpectators of their own ruin, and of the deſtruction of the general liberties of Europe: but had excited them to take the moſt effectual meaſures in order to prevent the common calamity: that, for this purpoſe, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had been at a great expence, the preceding year, in augmenting his forces; the States-general, ſenſible of the imminent danger, had not only acceded to the defenſive alliance concluded at Hanover, but had alſo come to ſtrong reſolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by ſea and land; their example had been followed by the king of Sweden; and the negociations with the king of Denmark were ſo far advanced that the allies might ſafely depend upon the concurrence of that potentate likewiſe: that this ſhort view of the preſent poſture of affairs would, he was confident, not only ſecure to him the ſupport and aſſiſtance of his parliament, in carrying on, in conjunction with his allies, this great and neceſſary work, but would likewiſe juſtify the meaſures that had lately been taken, and the expences which had already been incurred: that the confidence they had repoſed in him

during the laſt year, had been employed for the benefit of the public; and as the chief article of expence, had, by his equipping and ſending to ſea three ſquadrons, fallen upon the funds of the navy, he was perſuaded the neceſſity of the ſervice, and the glory, advantage, and ſecurity, that had accrued to the nation from thoſe ſquadrons, would ſufficiently vindicate that circumſtance, as long as our friends with joy, and our enemies with concern, frankly acknowledge they had both ſeen and felt the effects of the naval powers of Great Britain: that it could not be thought ſtrange, that the princes engaged in thoſe enterprizes, were very much diſturbed at ſeeing their deſigns detected and defeated: that the king of Spain, chagrined by the many diſappointments he had lately ſuſtained, could no longer diſguiſe that enmity to Britain, which, for ſome time paſt, he had only waited for a favourable opportunity openly to declare: that he had ordered his miniſter at this court immediately to quit the kingdom, after leaving a memorial, that fell little ſhort of a declaration of war: that, in this remonſtrance he again demanded and inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar; did not deny the offenſive alliance he had contracted, nor his engagements to ſupport the Oſtend company;

pany; made our recalling thoſe ſquadrons, which his conduct had obliged us to ſend to the Weſt-Indies and the coaſt of Spain, the condition of any further correſpondence between the two crowns; and ſuppoſing the continuance of our fleets in the Mediterranean to be an act of hoſtility, threatened to repel them by force to the utmoſt of his power: that, not content with theſe menaces, inſults, and infractions of treaties, his Catholic majeſty was now making preparations to attack and beſiege Gibraltar; and in order to proſecute that enterprize, or to cover another deſign, had aſſembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood; but as the preſent ſtate and condition of the garriſon, afforded little cauſe, either to the Engliſh to apprehend any danger, or to their enemies to hope for ſucceſs in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence he had received, of a deſign being formed to attempt an invaſion of thoſe kingdoms in favour of the pretender, by an embarkation from the coaſt of Spain, gave him reaſon to believe, that, though the ſiege of Gibraltar might probably be undertaken in order to amuſe the public, the great and formidable preparations, made for that purpoſe, were chiefly calculated for the intended invaſion, which, he was credibly informed,

ed, had, for some time, been agreed to be the first step and beginning of the long premeditated rupture: that these considerations must awaken in his parliament such a sense of the common and imminent danger, as would, he doubted not, inspire them with a zeal and chearfulness in raising the supplies necessary for the defence of their country, and for enabling him to make good his engagements with his allies: that he had received too much satisfaction from the happiness of his subjects in their present enjoyment and future prospect of peace, ease, and prosperity, not to be sensibly affected with these new convulsions, and the unavoidable necessity he found himself under of asking larger supplies of his people, in order to make such an augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as the present urgency of affairs demanded: that he would order the proper estimates to be laid before them, together with such treaties, as he had made with foreign princes for the hire of their troops; and as the expence, which he was last year, in a particular manner, impowered to make, had amounted to no inconsiderable sum, and the public utility might again require the like services to be performed, he hoped they would repose in him the same trust and confidence: that it was with pleasure

ſure he ſaw the time ſo near approaching, when ſo conſiderable an addition would be made to the ſinking fund; he begged they would let all, who wiſhed well to the peace and quiet of his government, have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that the preſent neceſſities ſhould make no interruption in the progreſs of that deſirable work, of gradually diſcharging the national debt; and he therefore hoped they would make a proviſion for the immediate application of the produce of the ſinking fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtood appropriated: that he had no thoughts of making new acquiſitions to any part of his dominions, his whole care and concern had been to preſerve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of his people, and therefore all his meaſures had been preventive and defenſive: but ſuch endeavours being now rendered abortive, vigorous reſolutions and a prompt execution could alone put an effectual end to the dangers that ſurrounded them: however difficult and deſperate the enterprizes formed againſt them might appear, their being aſſured, that they were really projected, would, he was perſuaded, be ſufficient to induce them to put themſelves in a condition to reſiſt and defeat ſuch daring attempts: that,

if

if preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a Proteſtant people, were any longer conſiderations worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, he needed ſay no more to incite his loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert themſelves in defence of all that was dear and valuable to them.

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of thanks, in which they expreſſed the higheſt reſentment at the inſolent deſigns of his majeſty's enemies, and the moſt entire approbation of the meaſeres he had taken in order to defeat and diſappoint them. The commons voted twenty thouſand ſeamen, and twenty-ſix thouſand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land ſervice; and to defray the expence of theſe armaments, a tax of four ſhillings in the pound was granted.

The warmeſt debate, during this ſeſſion, happened in the houſe of lords, concerning the letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the treaty of Hanover. When theſe papers were peruſed by the houſe, the lord Bathurſt obſerved, that the

States-general had acted with remarkable caution and circumspection in this whole affair: that they had not fully and entirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, since they had formally and expressly excused themselves from the "general guaranty of "the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva, in "which, they said, they were never en-"gaged;" and as to the business of Thorn, they had only promised to employ their friendly offices for obtaining reasonable satisfaction; so that they had acceded only on account of the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty of Munster for preserving and maintaining their rights with respect to commerce; whereas, by the treaty of Hanover, Great-Britain and France stood engaged to guaranty to the Dutch, not only the fifth and sixth articles of the peace of Westphalia, but likewise the barrier treaty, and the treaty of Oliva, in favour of the Protestants of Germany: that, in effect, the Dutch having engaged themselves to nothing, what they had done did not deserve the name of accession; the rather because they had made it an express condition, that their act of accession should be approved and ratified by the king of Great-Britain, the most Christian king, and the king of Prussia: that, though this last potentate was one of the

the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover; yet as no mention had been made of him, he could not tell what to say to that particular: that his minister, it seemed, had refused signing the act of accession, probably on account of the Dutch excusing themselves from the general guaranty; but, let his reasons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous consequence; for, by a letter from the duke de Burnonville, the Spanish minister at Vienna, it appeared, that the Imperial court was not without hopes, that France might thereby think herself disengaged from the Hanover alliance; in which event Great-Britain alone must bear the burden of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe: that the Dutch receiving far greater advantages than Great-Britain, from the East-India trade, and consequently being more concerned then her in the suppression of the Ostend company, they ought, at least, to bear an equal share with her in the expence of the war, and guaranty to her the possession of Gibraltar, in the same manner as the English guarantied to them their barrier: that, after all, he did not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that the duke de Ripperda, indeed, might have dropped some

ſome indecent and indiſcreet expreſſions; but he was known to be a paſſionate man, and princes had a right to diſavow the indiſcretions of their miniſters, which the king of Spain had done in a moſt ſolemn manner, with relation to Ripperda: that it was univerſally acknowledged, that violent miniſters had done many unaccountable things; and if their idle talk and fooliſh expreſſions were a juſt foundation for war, nations would never be at peace: that, for ſome time paſt, the emperor had been treated very cavalierly by ſome perſons in this kingdom; and that, in the memorial, which the marquis de Pozzobueno left behind him at his departure, it was ſtrongly inſinuated, that the violent ſtate, to which affairs were now reduced, was owing to the miniſters of England: that, in the ſame memorial, mention was made of a poſitive promiſe being given by the king of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar: that this, he apprehended, could not be ſaid without any foundation; and therefore it would be highly neceſſary to inquire, whether, in reality, ſuch a promiſe had ever been made; and whether any thing of that kind had been mentioned in the treaty concluded at Madrid: that, let that matter ſtand as it would, all poſſible methods of amicable accomodation ought, in

his opinion, to be tried, before they engaged in a war, which, in their present circumstances, might be attended with very dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of above fifty millions sterling; and though they had been told of a sinking fund applied to the gradual discharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wished than expected, that the operation of that wise expedient should not suffer any interruption by the exigencies inseparable from a war: that one of the ablest mathematicians in the kingdom had foretold, that, if ever England raised above five millions in a year, it would infalliby be exhausted and ruined in a few years; but if, at this juncture, they should engage in a war, and not meddle with the sinking fund, according to the scheme proposed by the ministers, they must be obliged to raise, at least, seven millions a year upon the people of England, the consequence of which was equally obvious and alarming to any one, who admitted the principle of that great mathematician: that, in some of the papers laid before the house, mention had been made of great sums of money distributed in divers places, in order to bring some measures to bear: that, for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor

a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman; and as long, as he had the honour to ſet in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country: that therefore he would ſum up all he had ſaid, with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt conſequence to the nation. "What," ſaid he, "can we get by a war, if it be ſucceſs-"ful? I will ſay it in one word, *Nothing*. "What can we loſe, if it be unproſperous? "I will ſay it in one word, in a ſyllable, "*All*."

This ſpeech was anſwered by lord Townſend, who ſaid, that, as the treaty of Hanover was purely defenſive, it had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either between the contracting parties, or other ſtates and princes: that the ſole aim and intention of that alliance, was a reciprocal guaranty, for maintaining the dominions and countries, both in Europe and the Indies, of which each of the allies were actually poſſeſſed, at the time of ſigning the treaty: that, of conſequence, by acceding to this alliance, the crowns of Great-Britain and France became guarantees of the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Munſter, by which the Dutch were entitled to excluſive rights and privileges of trade in the

East-Indies; but this guaranty was reciprocal between Great-Britain and the States-General, ſince, by the treaty of 1677, Spain had granted to England, the ſame rights and privileges, which the Dutch enjoyed by the fifth and ſixth articles of the treaty of Weſtphalia: that, therefore, the ſuppreſſing of the Oſtend company, which manifeſtly invaded thoſe excluſive rights and privileges, was become a common cauſe between the Engliſh and the Dutch: that the concern of the former in that affair, was almoſt equal to that of the latter, ſince the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade brought about three hundred thouſand pounds a year into the cuſtoms; and as this was part of the general mortgage, if ſo conſiderable a branch ſhould be loſt, the ſinking fund would be deprived of that ſum yearly: that, by former treaties, Great-Britain was guaranty to the Dutch for their barrier in the Netherlands, as, reciprocally, by the ſame treaties, the Dutch were guarantees for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; ſo that, in theſe reſpects, the two nations were exactly upon a footing: that, indeed, by their act of acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover, the States-General had exempted themſelves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oliva, to which they never ſtood engaged; but that, nevertheleſs,

theleſs, by the ſame act, they bound themſelves to employ, jointly with Great-Britain and France, their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction and reparation with regard to the infractions which might have been committed in the treaty of Oliva; which was as much as the contracting powers had undertaken to perform, by the firſt ſecret article of the treaty of Hanover, and was, indeed, as little as the Proteſtant potentates could do, in conſideration of the ſeverities lately exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants of Thorn: that, with reſpect to the idle and indiſcreet expreſſions of the duke de Ripperda, they were not alledged as a juſt foundation for a rupture with Spain, but only as ſtrong and corroborating indications of an offenſive alliance between that prince and the emperor, of which there were, from other circumſtances, ſuch convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt of its reality: that, with regard to the ſecret article of that alliance, in favour of the pretender, his majeſty had received, from ſeveral parts, ſuch poſitive and concurring informations, that, if the public ſafety permitted him to lay thoſe advices before the houſe, they would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article, than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it; but he hoped that illuſtrious

assembly would not think any of his majesty's servants, who had the honour to sit among them, so audacious as to tell them downright untruths, or to presume to impose upon their lordships, by alledging facts of so great importance, without sufficient vouchers: that, as to the other secret article of the offensive alliance, relating to the support of the Ostend company, and the restitution of Gibraltar, the king of Spain and his ministers were so far from denying it, that, on the contrary, they did not scruple publickly to avow and justify it: that, therefore, his majesty could not, in prudence, omit to take early and proper measures to oppose an alliance so directly levelled against his crown and dignity, and so invasive of the most valuable rights and privileges acquired to his subjects, by the most solemn treaties: that, at the same time, notwithstanding these high provocations, his majesty shewed his inclination and disposition to an amicable accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, that, if the emperor would remove the Ostend company to Trieste, or any other place in his dominions, which did not formerly belong to the Spanish monarchy, Great-Britain would quietly acquiesce; but, instead of agreeing to this proposal, those two courts

not

not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the Oſtend trade, but Spain, in the memorial preſented by the marquis de Pozzobueno, inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended promiſe, that no where exiſted: and that, from all theſe circumſtances, he hoped it would evidently appear, that his majeſty was under an abſolute neceſſity of adopting the vigorous reſolutions, which he had already embraced.

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches, their lordſhips reſolved, that the meaſures, which his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain by ſolemn treaties, particularly of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Several lords entered a proteſt againſt this reſolution.

The oppoſition, in the lower houſe, conſiſted chiefly in making motions for addreſſes on ſeveral ſubjects: one, for a copy of the memorial preſented by Mr. Poyntz to the king of Sweden, and for the ſecret offenſive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid;

Madrid; another, for the declaration, letters, and engagements relating to the reſtitution of Gibraltar, for which the court of Spain pretended a poſitive promiſe had been given; a third, for copies of ſuch memorials and repreſentations to his majeſty, as had induced him, in the courſe of the preceding year, to ſend a ſquadron into the Baltic; a fourth, for an account of the diſtribution of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds charged, in the ſtate of the money granted for the ſervice of the laſt year, in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. But all theſe motions were rejected by the majority; and the houſe concurred in an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, in which they approved of the ſteps he had already taken, and promiſed to ſupport him in all ſuch other meaſures, as he ſhould find neceſſary for preventing a rupture, and for promoting the honour and advantage of the nation.

It was not only by the anti-courtiers of England, that the king's ſpeech was criticiſed and cenſured: it was canvaſſed with equal, or rather with greater ſeverity, by his enemies in other places. The court of Vienna was ſo incenſed at ſome expreſſions, which his majeſty had uſed, that Mr. Palms;

Palms, the Imperial reſident at London, was ordered to preſent a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people from their ſovereign. In this daring remonſtrance, the king was charged with having declared, from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, many things, which were either wreſted, miſrepreſented, or void of all foundation.

The memorialiſt affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance, and therefore, could not, with any ſhew of reaſon, give umbrage to the king or people of Great-Britain: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations, and, in no reſpect, prejudicial to the Britiſh nation: that there was no offenſive alliance concluded between the two crowns: and, that the ſuppoſed article, relating to the pretender, was a downright falſhood. He ſaid, that the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Weſt-Indies and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeemed to furniſh a very juſt pretence for that prince's undertaking the ſiege of Gibraltar; but, with regard to the inſinuation, as if his maſter had agreed to aſſiſt him, it was abſolutely

lutely without the leaſt foundation, the emperor having made no other engagements with the king of Spain, than what were ſpecified in the treaty communicated to the king of Great-Britain. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, ſuitable reparation for the injury his honour had ſuſtained from ſuch groundleſs imputations.

The whole nation, as might naturally be expected, were highly incenſed at this inſolent memorial. The two houſes of parliament joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the arrogance of Mr. Palms, and aſſuring his majeſty, that this audacious manner of appealing to his people, and turning a memorial into a libel, was a proceeding that filled them with the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. "The endeavouring," ſaid they in their addreſs, "to inſtill into the minds of any of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence of your majeſty's moſt ſacred royal word, or to make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain, as it is preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, confeſſed to have been performed by Britons, in ſupport of the emperor, gratitude, eſteem, and affection for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted

"by

" by doing honour to the king, whom " the people honour, and juſtice to the peo- " ple, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt " of kings is now defending againſt the in- " vaſions and incroachments that have been " made upon them."

At the ſame time the Imperial reſident was ordered forthwith to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were preſented by the miniſters of the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and France to the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon; and ſuch perſonal reflections retorted between theſe potentates, that all hopes of reconciliation vaniſhed.

King George, in order to fortify himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm, entered into more ſtrict engagements with the French king. He prevailed on the king of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover; to furniſh, as a member of that alliance, a body of five thouſand men; and to hold in readineſs an additional body of ten thouſand troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds for three years, to be remitted in half yearly payments. He concluded a freſh treaty with the king of Denmark, who undertook to provide twenty-four thouſand auxiliaries, on account of a ſubſidy of three hundred and fifty thouſand rix-

rix-dollars for four years, to be paid by the king of France.

The proportions of troops to be ſent into the field, in caſe of a rupture, were aſcertained and determined. His Britannic majeſty engaged for four and twenty thouſand men, and a ſtrong fleet to be ſent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who promiſed to furniſh eight thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, in conſideration of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds to be paid by Great-Britain immediately towards levying and equipping theſe forces, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe they ſhould be required, beſides their pay and ſubſiſtance.

For the ſupport of theſe expenſive treaties, Mr. Scroope, ſecretary to the treaſury, moved, in the houſe of commons, that, in the malt tax bill, they ſhould inſert a clauſe of appropriation, empowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements, which had been or ſhould be made before the twenty-fifth day of December next, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the peace of Europe.

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This motion was productive of a violent debate. It was alledged on the one hand, that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expence, that he had aſked no more ſupplies in this ſeſſion that what he judged neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; but, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties, which his majeſty had thought fit to conclude, were not yet fully completed: that therefore they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies: that the houſe had frequently repoſed in him ſuch a confidence, which he had never abuſed: and that what was now demanded, was limited to a very ſhort time.

It was urged on the other hand, that the aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate was unparliamentary: that ſuch a clauſe, as was now propoſed, was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbade iſſuing the ſupplies granted to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wiſdom of all parliaments thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt miſapplication: that this embezzlement was the more to be feared, as no pro-

viſion was made to call any perſon to account for the money that ſhould be diſpoſed of by virtue of this clauſe: that the parliament had already granted vaſt ſums, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could extend; and, if there ſhould happen any unexpected emergency, which might demand a farther ſupply, that might be provided in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required: that this might be done with leſs inconvenience, and with leſs danger of miſapplication, than by ſuch a delegation of an almoſt dictatorial power to the miniſtry: that this parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the intereſt and advantage of his people: that ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power, as this clauſe conferred, ought never to be given in a free government, but in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate was in danger: that the repoſing a confidence in the crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as, by the advice of profuſe miniſters may be ſquandered away, might be attended with great prejudice

dice to the property of the ſubject, and great danger to the conſtitution, which could not be preſerved, but by a ſtrict adherence to thoſe eſſential and parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating theſe ſupplies to purpoſes and occaſions publickly avowed and judged neceſſary: that the departing from this excellent method would, by degrees, render parliaments altogether uſeleſs: that the precedents alledged to juſtify the clauſe, were far from being pertinent and ſatisfactory; and, if they were, ought not to be followed: that clauſes of the ſame nature might become ſo frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and the miniſters an abſolute and uncontroulable power of raiſing money upon the people, which by the conſtitution is, and with ſafety can only be, lodged in the whole legiſlature. Notwithſtanding theſe objections, the motion was carried, and the bill paſſed through the upper houſe, though not without a vigourous oppoſition.

Next day, Sir William Young moved, that towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, ſhould be raiſed by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm,

which was reſerved for the parliament's diſpoſal.

This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney and Sir Joſeph Jekyll, who repreſented, that, by ſeveral votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſſes of public funds were to be applied towards diſcharging the public debts or encreaſing the ſinking fund: that this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extremely low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but weaken the ſecurity of the debt: that it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons who had the honour of being in the adminiſtration, and who could not have forgot, what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne at the opening of the ſeſſion, "that the produce of the "ſinking fund might be immediately appli-"ed to the uſes, for which it was ſo wiſely "contrived, and to which it ſtood at pre-"ſent appropriated:" and finally that this motion was ſtill the more ſurprizing after the large and unlimited power, which the parliament had ſo lately conferred upon his majeſty.

It was anſwered in general, that the ſurplus of the duty on coals could not be conſidered

ſidered as a part of the ſinking fund, ſince it had never been appropriated, but was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament. This reaſon was deemed ſatisfactory; and the motion was accordingly carried without any farther oppoſition.

On the fifteenth day of May the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the zeal, liberality and diſpatch, with which they had furniſhed the neceſſary ſupplies; and acquainted them that the ſiege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortreſs on the eleventh day of February, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty-thouſand men.

The place was well provided for a defence; and the old earl of Portmore, the governour, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. At the ſame time five hundred men arrived from Minorca; ſo that the garriſon amounted to ſix thouſand, who were plentifully ſupplied with freſh proviſions from the coaſt of Bar-

bary, and ſet all the efforts of the beſiegers at defiance.

The States-general, being apprehenſive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, deſired the king to hold in readineſs, in caſe of neceſſity, the ten thouſand auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty. They were immediately prepared for embarkation; and the forces of Great Britain were augmented with thirty new-raiſed companies. Sir John Norris ſet ſail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, where he was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron; but the Czarina dying on the ſeventeenth day of May, the court of Peterſburgh thought proper to lay aſide their armament.

As the treaty of Hanover, was merely defenſive, it did not deprive the powers, who had engaged in it, of the liberty of uſing their utmoſt endeavours in order to effect an amicable accommodation. Accordingly, the king of France undertook this friendly office, which was conducted by the duke of Richlieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna. Plans and counter-plans of pacification were propoſed by the emperor and the king of Spain on the one hand, and the members of the Hanover alliance on the other.

At length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were ſigned in May

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at Paris by the miniſters of the allies, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. They imported in ſubſtance, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe: that the ſeveral powers ſhould continue in the full enjoyment of all rights and poſſeſſions ſecured to them by former treaties: and that a congreſs ſhould be opened in four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe.

This congreſs was afterwards transferred to Soiſſons for the conveniency of the French miniſters, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at court. The ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed after it had laſted four months, during which, about one half of the Spaniſh army was deſtroyed by ſlaughter or ſickneſs; while the loſs of the garriſon did amount to four hundred men. The court of Madrid, however, ſtarted ſome new difficulties, and for ſome time refuſed to conſent to the reſtitution of the prince Frederic, the Engliſh South-ſea ſhip, which had been detained at la Vera Cruz, in the Weſt-Indies; ſo that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coaſt of Spain after the raiſing the ſiege of Gibraltar. But theſe obſtructions were removed in the ſequel.

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As king George had not visited his German dominions for upwards of two years, he resolved to embrace the present opportunity of enjoying that pleasure, and performing what he conceived to be his indispensable duty. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. On the ninth he arrived at Delden between ten and eleven at night, and seemingly in perfect health.

After eating a hearty supper and enjoying a good night's rest, he resumed his journey about four in the morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, and perceiving one of his hands to hang motionless, said, "I cannot move this hand." Mr. Fabrice, who attended him in the coach, rubbed it carefully, but without producing any good effect. He therefore called the surgeon, who followed on horseback, and who began to rub it with spirits. In the mean time, the king's eyes began to stare, his mouth to be distorted, and his tongue to swell, so that he was deprived of the faculty of speech. He was instantly seized with a fit of the palsy; and though recovered a little by opening a vein, he soon after became lethargic, and was conveyed in

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ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnaburg, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign.

Such was the ſudden, though not premature, death of George the firſt, who, in the principal circumſtances of his life, may be juſtly conſidered as the moſt fortunate prince either of the laſt or the preſent century. This good fortune, which is frequently the reward of virtue, and as frequently the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his acceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain. The eſtabliſhment of the electoral dignity in his family, was a work, which, though begun by his father, was reſerved for him finally to accompliſh. A large acceſſion of territory fell to him by his ſucceeding to the dukedom of Zell, by which he became one of the greateſt princes of Germany. The dutchies of Bremen and Verden and the biſhopric of Oſnaburg conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſt in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the Proteſtant cauſe.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing more remarkable, than in the removal of thoſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles, which clogged his acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, and threatened him with the depri-

vation

vation of that dignity, after he had obtained it. The disappointment of the designs formed by queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the Pretender, by the unexpected decease of that princess; the extinction of the rebellion in 1715, and the miscarriage of the invasion, which was attempted about four years after; the death of Lewis the fourteenth of France, and that of Charles the twelfth of Sweden, the resentment of both which princes he had undeservedly incurred by his steady adherence to the liberties of Europe: these, and many other circumstances, which occur in the history of his reign, were incidents so seasonable and singularly fortunate, that, while they contributed to the ease and security of the king, and to the general interest and welfare of Christendom, they seem, at the same time, to bespeak the interposition of a superior Providence.

He had given a proof of his talents for government before he exercised them in this kingdom. Naturally inclined to justice and equity, though absolute and despotic in his hereditary dominions, he ruled with all the lenity and moderation of a limited prince. He considered civil and religious liberty as the unalienable right of mankind, and therefore he indulged it to a people, who pleaded no other claim to it than his known good-

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ness and wonted humanity. Poſſeſſed of theſe generous and noble ſentiments, though his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne enlarged his ſphere of action, it did not alter his plan of conduct. That was uniformly and invariably the ſame, both before and after his advancement to that dignity. Leſs tenacious of his own prerogative than of the rights and privileges of his ſubjects, as he never made any attacks upon the latter, no encroachments were ever attempted upon the former.

The love and affection of his people he conſidered as the firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity of his throne. Conſcious, that, under an arbitrary and tyrannical government, the property of the ſubject is not in more danger than the life of the ſovereign, he wiſely rejected the inſidious advice of thoſe, who endeavoured to make their court to him, by the profeſſion of an obedience which they could never practice, and which has always proved fatal to ſuch princes as have put it to the trial. Thoſe he regarded as his beſt and moſt truſty friends, who honeſtly acquainted him with the true principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and adviſed him to regulate his conduct according to theſe maxims. To their counſel he prudently liſtened, and invariably adhered through the

whole

whole course of his reign. In a word, it may be affirmed, that no prince was ever better qualified to sway the sceptre over a free and a Protestant people, nor any, who ever exercised the virtues of a great and a good governour with more distinguished ability or more uninterrupted success.*

GEORGE

* George the first married Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his son and successor George the second, and the late queen of Prussia. She died on the second of November of the preceding year, at the castle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunswick, where she had been confined for several years. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

GEORGE II.

J. Hulett sculp.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

GEORGE II. A. D. 1727.

GEORGE the Second acceded to the throne at a juncture that was truly critical to the liberties of Europe, but by no means dangerous to the peace of Great-Britain. The jealouſies excited, and the intrigues ſet on foot in the different courts of Chriſtendom, by the counter-treaties of Vienna and Hanover, ſtill continued to ferment and operate; but the Engliſh at home ſeemed to be perfectly united in the vigorous defence of their own rights, and the ſupport of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

On the fourteenth day of June, his majeſty declared in council, that he was firmly reſolved to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to adhere to the alliances, which his father had contracted, and which had contributed, in a great meaſure, to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Next day the parliament met, in purſuance of the act of the fourth of queen

Anne; but was prorogued, by commiſſion, to the twenty-ſeventh of the month. His majeſty's ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave an early omen of that paternal care, which he ever after exerted for the happineſs and welfare of his people, and of his tender regard for their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions. It appeared, however, that his plan of internal government would be the ſame with that of his father, and that he was determined to purſue the ſame ſteps with regard to foreign connexions.

Addreſſes of condolance and congratulation being drawn up and preſented, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, took into conſideration a motion for the eſtabliſhment of the civil liſt. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year; that the houſe had been obliged to make up the deficiencies; and that his preſent majeſty's expences were likely to encreaſe, by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family. He therefore moved, that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, ſhould be ſettled on the king during his life.

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This motion was violently oppoſed by all the anti-courtiers, particularly by Mr. Shippen, who had made it a maxim, for ſeveral years, to ſpeak indiſcriminately againſt all miniſterial meaſures. He launched out into high encomiums on the frugality and diſintereſtedneſs of queen Anne's adminiſtration, and drew a parallel between it and the preſent government, which was, by no means, in favour of the latter.

His arguments would, at any other time, have been both anſwered and refuted; but, as the miniſtry were deſirous rather of healing than widening diviſions, the houſe came to an unanimous reſolution to grant to his majeſty the ſame civil liſt, which his father had enjoyed. A bill was prepared for this purpoſe; and at its ſecond reading, a meſſage was delivered from the king, deſiring the houſe would make further proviſion for the queen, his conſort, in caſe of his majeſty's demiſe.

The ſucceſs of this meſſage was conſidered as the touchſtone of the miniſter's power; nor did it remain long in ſuſpence: for the commons, having taken the requeſt into conſideration, reſolved, that, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the reve-

nues of the civil list, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and the lodge and lands of Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed, agreeable to this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both houses, and received the royal assent, on the seventeenth day of July; when the king, in a short speech to both houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; thanked them for the provision they had made for the support of his family and household; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which it had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August: but, on the seventh of that month, it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for convoking another.

In the mean time, his majesty proceeded to settle his ministry, his council, and his household; and his manner of filling up the several places in these several departments, plainly shewed he was resolved to give the preference to the friends of his family and of public liberty. The duke of Newcastle, and the lord Townsend were declared secretaries of state: Mr. Pelham, the duke's brother, was made secretary at war. The duke of Rutland was constituted chancellor of the dutchy

dutchy of Lancaſter. Sir Robert Walpole retained the offices of chancellor of the Exchequer, and firſt lord of the Treaſury; and, by the union of theſe two great poſts in his perſon, was conſidered as prime-miniſter of ſtate. The other lords of the treaſury were Sir Charles Turner, Sir George Oxenden, Mr. Doddington, and Mr. Clayton. Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the board of Admiralty, the other members of which were, the lord Malpas, Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Cockburn, and Mr. Molyneux. The earl of Cheſterfield was nominated ambaſſador to the States General, and the lord Carteret obtained the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On the eleventh day of October, the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnity.

Mean while, the elections for the new parliament, were carrying on, through the whole kingdom, with great vigour and diſpatch, and every where ſucceeded in favour of the miniſtry. The two houſes meeting, on the twenty-third day of January,* the commons choſe for their ſpeaker, Arthur Onſlow, Eſquire, knight of the ſhire for

* A. D. 1728.

Surry, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and unblemiſhed integrity, grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that honourable and important office, to which he was now advanced. The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, obſerved, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and had been greatly concerned to ſee many of the inconveniences of a war attending his ſubjects, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained, or gaining, in return, any of thoſe advantages, which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and, though there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, yet was it abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the Engliſh nation many advantages, which would be entirely loſt through a diſcontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to ſet about this neceſſary

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and important work, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit: that he begged leave to recommend to their conſideration, the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration, he ſaid, well worthy the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital; and proceed in all their deliberations, with ſuch unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch, as to convince the world, that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or to give occaſion, from the proſpect of diviſions that might be excited and fomented at home, to interrupt or diſappoint their expectations from abroad.

Loyal and affectionate addreſſes having been preſented by both houſes, the commons took into conſideration the eſtimates for the enſuing year. They voted twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred, and fifty-five men for the land ſervice, and fifteen thouſand ſeamen. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of

fifty

fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden; and another of half that sum to the duke of Wolfenbottel. The expence of the year amounted to three millions, seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand, four hundred and fifty-four pounds, sixteen shillings, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, and by a loan from the bank, of one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by the duty on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

All these sums, however, were not voted without opposition. The number of land-forces occasioned a debate on the danger arising from that military establishment; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without a violent contest. When the loan of the bank came under deliberation, Mr. William Pulteney alledged, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; and that the sinking fund, of which such mighty expectations had been formed, was no other than a pompous project, which, instead of lessening, had contributed to increase the national debt.

Sir Nathaniel Gould, a member, and a merchant, said, he supposed that gentleman took

took his notions from a treatiſe, lately publiſhed, on the ſtate of the public debts, and commonly aſcribed to that very gentleman: that, for his own part, if he underſtood any thing, it was numbers; and he durſt pawn his credit and reputation to prove, that the author's calculations were falſe and erroneous. Mr. Pulteney inſiſting, that the calculations were exactly juſt, and the queſtion being a matter of fact rather than of opinion, Sir Robert Walpole interpoſed, and confirmed the aſſertion of Sir Nathaniel; and ſome warm altercation paſſed between him and Mr. Pulteney.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, preſented a petition, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coal and culm imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, and an hardſhip upon all the trading inhabitants; and praying the houſe would give them ſuch relief, as, in their wiſdom, they ſhould think proper. As a compliance with this requeſt would have entirely defeated the loan, the petition was rejected, and the tax impoſed.

The commons having addreſſed the king for a particular account of the diſtribution

of

of the money that had been granted in the preceding year, a ſtate of it was laid before them; but two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds being charged in general terms as iſſued for the ſecurity of trade and navigation, they preſented a ſecond addreſs, deſiring a more exact and diſtinct ſpecification of the diſburſement of that ſum.

In anſwer to this ſecond addreſs, Sir Paul Methuen, by his majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe, that the late king, his majeſty's royal father, having, on the like occaſion, received, from the laſt parliament, the moſt dutiful acknowledgements of his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements, as he thought would beſt conduce to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their future ſupport, in all ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould find neceſſary for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majeſty, for iſſuing and applying ſuch ſums of money, as he ſhould find neceſſary for defraying ſuch expences, and fulfilling ſuch engagements, as had been, or ſhould be made for theſe great and neceſſary purpoſes;

ſome

ſome part of the money, mentioned in the addreſs, had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty; and the remaining part had been applied by his preſent majeſty, for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, for ſtrengthening his alliances, and performing engagements of the utmoſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and to the general tranquility of Europe, and ſuch at the ſame time as required the greateſt ſecrecy. His majeſty therefore hoped, that the houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and reſt aſſured, that the money had been faithfully and neceſſarily expended, purſuant to the power given him by act of parliament, and for the uſes and purpoſes thereby directed; and that a particular and diſtinct account of it could not be given without a manifeſt prejudice to the public.

It muſt be owned that this anſwer, though ſupported by precedent, was not ſtrictly agreeable to the rules of parliament; but the intereſts of Great-Britain were, at that time, ſo interwoven with thoſe of the continent, that the ſyſtem of government would not admit of too minute explications.

The oppoſition did not fail to make advantage of this circumſtance. They affirmed, that the anſwer was vague, frivolous, and al-

altogether unparliamentary, and might be made with equal propriety to every inquiry into the disposal of public money: that, if such answers were accepted, the parliament in reality resigned their most precious privilege, that of inquiring into the distribution of public money, and the conduct of corrupted ministers, into the hands of those very ministers, who ought to be objects of their censure.

It was urged, in behalf of the ministry, that the answer was conformable to another returned in the late reign to a like address: that there was no more reason for distrusting his present majesty, than there was for distrusting his royal father: that the commons were so well satisfied on that occasion, that instead of expressing any symptons of disgust, they returned the king an address of thanks for his gracious answer: and that considering the various complications of interests on the continent, it was absolutely impossible, that the public service could be carried on, if every shilling of the money, expended for the benefit of the common cause and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, should be published to the world. These arguments were deemed so forcible, that the house resolved, by a great majority, to accept of the answer returned by his majesty.

The

The commons having, in a committee of the whole houſe, taken into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, examined the accounts and interrogated the proper officers; a motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts, incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, together with the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds to be iſſued at Lady-day next, amounted to ſix millions, ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty two pounds, five ſhillings, one penny, one farthing.

The intention of this motion was to expoſe the injuſtice of the clamour, which the oppoſition had raiſed, that the public debts had increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund. As this was the moſt plauſible topic of declamation againſt the miniſtry, and the point in which the public were moſt deeply intereſted, the anti-courtiers exerted all their abilities, which are confeſſed to have been very great, in endeavouring to defeat the motion.

They alledged, that there was a fallacy and deceit in the very nature of the propoſal: that the public money had been expended with the moſt ſcandalous prodigality and profuſion: that, notwithſtanding the

liberal grants which had been made by parliament, during the laſt and preſent reign; notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, the national debt was annually increaſing, even in a time of profound peace and tranquillity: that ſuch a circumſtance yielded but a very melancholy proſpect, in as much as, at this rate, the public debts muſt increaſe ſtill faſter, in caſe of a foreign war or domeſtic commotion; ſo that the heavy and numerous taxes, with which the people were burdened, muſt be continued and perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity.

To ſupport this vague, declamatory ſtrain, they urged, that the better to ſwell the ſum, ſaid to have been iſſued and applied towards the diſcharge of the public debts, incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, there were added to it about three millions, for the advanced price given in 1720, in order to convert the irredeemable debts, into redeemable: that this however could not, with any propriety, be called a payment of thoſe debts: that, on the other hand, in the account of the preſent national debt, or of the increaſe of that debt ſince Chriſtmas 1716, ſeveral large ſums were omitted, particularly one million, raiſed upon the credit of the civil liſt, and ſeveral deficiencies in the land tax, malt-

tax,

tax, and other funds, which certainly ſtill remained a public debt.

The motion, however, was ſo well defended by facts and figures, that, when a ſecond motion was made, by the oppoſition, for the ſpeaker to reſume the chair, the queſtion was carried in the negative by a majority of two hundred and fifty againſt ninety-ſeven; in conſequence of which the firſt motion was approved without any farther diviſion.

The committee then proceeded to draw up a repreſentation on the ſubject. They begun with ſome ſevere but juſt reflections againſt the inſidious arts that had been practiſed in order to miſlead the people in this important point. They ſaid, that this prevailing miſchief called for an immediate remedy, and made it neceſſary to enter into a ſtrict diſquiſition of the truth and certainty of theſe matters, that his majeſty might be thoroughly informed of the real ſtate of affairs, and his faithful and loyal ſubjects have the ſatisfaction to ſee how groſsly the world had been deceived by the artful miſrepreſentations of ill-deſigning men; and that his enemies might be convinced, that the wealth and power of Great-Britain were not ſo exhauſted, as to render the nation, under his majeſty's happy government, leſs

conſiderable and leſs formidable, than in the time of any of his royal predeceſſors. Then having ſtated the whole of the national debt, they inconteſtably proved in concluſion, that, ſince the twenty-fifth day of December, 1716, two millions, ſix hundred and ninety-eight thouſand, four hundred and ſixteen pounds, nine ſhillings, ſeven pence, three farthings of theſe debts had been actually diſcharged.

Theſe facts were repreſented in a very ſpirited addreſs to his majeſty, who took occaſion to ſay, in his anſwer, that he was highly pleaſed with this repreſentation, which could not fail to give general ſatisfaction to all his people, by removing thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions, which had been propagated and diſperſed throughout the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit were too ſenſibly felt and ſeen, not to be confeſſed and acknowledged by every impartial perſon: that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing but ſome unforeſeen event could alter or diminiſh it; a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged without the neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances: and

that

that they might be well aſſured, that it ſhould ever be his particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, to improve the ſinking fund, and to avoid all occaſions of laying new burdens upon his people.

On the fourth day of May, Sir Paul Methuen, treaſurer of the houſhold, delivered a meſſage from his majeſty, deſiring they would advance him a ſum of money, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements he had contracted, with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament. This meſſage was productive of a long and violent debate, but, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſition, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty ſeven againſt one hundred and one, that his majeſty's requeſt ſhould be granted, and a vote of credit was accordingly paſſed for that purpoſe.

During this ſeſſion, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances, which the king had laid before them: they likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which, however, miſcarried in the ſequel. They paſſed the mutiny bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe having received the royal aſſent, the king cloſed

the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighty day of April, when he thanked the members for the zeal and unanimity with which they had diſpatched the public buſineſs. *

About this time, the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, by the death of his royal highneſs, Erneſt Auguſtus, biſhop of Oſnaburgh, duke of York and Albany, and only ſurviving brother to king George the firſt. He was a prince of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, and, though reigning over a country inhabited almoſt equally by Papiſts and Proteſtants, he approved himſelf, during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, the common father of all his people. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his revenue, and the ſplendour of his court, which was always ſuitable to his rank and quality, he was ſo good an œconomiſt, as to leave behind him, at his death, no leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie. He was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologn, according

* Towards the end of this ſeſſion, Sir John Monſon, by the title of lord Monſon, Sir Thomas Wentworth, by that of lord Malton, Sir John Hobart, by that of lord Hobart, and Sir Thomas Coke, by that of lord Lovel, were ſeverally called up to the houſe of peers.

FREDERICK P. of WALES.

J. Hulett sculp.

Engrav'd for Riders History of England.

ADMIRAL VERNON.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

according to the pactum by which Osnaburgh is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick, and that elector.

In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son, prince Frederic, arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided; and was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master had invited the pretender into his dominions, and paid to him the honours and distinctions due to the king of Great Britain.

The congress opened at Soissons for adjusting all differences among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties and objections were started by the several plenipotentiaries, particularly by those of Spain, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover, proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was as yet given by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspence: the English fleet lay inactive in the West Indies: the sailors perished miserably, without daring to revenge their country's wrongs; for the ministry were unwilling to engage in a war: and, in the mean time, the Spanish guarda costas

coſtas committed the moſt cruel depredations on the commerce of Great-Britain.

The queen of Spain, who was deſirous of recovering Gibraltar and Portmahon, and procuring a ſettlement for her ſon in Italy, ſeemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England: ſhe had renewed a good underſtanding with France, and now ſtrengthened her intereſt by a double marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this houſe was betrothed to the prince of Aſturias, while the Spaniſh infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now beſtowed upon the prince of Brazil, eldeſt ſon of his Portugueſe majeſty.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the twenty-firſt day of January, the king, in his ſpeech, acquainted both houſes, that the plan of a proviſional treaty, had already been approved by him and his allies; but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but he hoped they would believe, that nothing, but a regard for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, could have prevailed upon him, rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniences, with the daily proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace,

peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into ſtill greater and more enormous expences: that he was ſorry to find, that the ſtate of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had, all of them, reſolved, to make the ſame preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had ſome reaſon to believe, that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings, by the hopes, which were given them from hence, of creating diſcontents and diviſions among his ſubjects; but he was perſuaded, that their known affection for him, and a juſt regard for their own honour, and for the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation, would determine them effectually to diſcourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of ſome few, who ſuggeſted the means of diſtreſſing this country, and afterwards clamoured at the inconveniences, which they themſelves had occaſioned.

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous ſpeech, which ſome conſidered as a compoſition of miniſterial craft, while others looked upon it as a plain declaration of the true ſtate of Europe, as far as Great-Britain

Britain was concerned. The lords unanimouſly agreed to an addreſs: and the party among the commons, who were for pacific meaſures, extolled the wiſdom and prudence of his majeſty in induſtriouſly avoiding the occaſion of a war, the iſſue of which was precarious and uncertain.

The inſolence of Spain in attacking Gibraltar, was univerſally admitted; and, as ſomething deciſive muſt happen very ſoon, and the nation had already waited ſo long, it was thought more adviſeable to wait a little longer, before they ſhould reſolve to commence hoſtilities. Such were the political maxims, which the miniſtry ſeem at that time to have adopted; but, however prudent they might be in themſelves, they afforded their enemies an excellent handle for declaiming againſt their conduct. The Spaniſh depredations in America were as diſgraceful as they were diſcouraging: and the nation was on fire to retort the injury. The oppoſition was ſenſible of this prevailing humour; nor did they fail to take every opportunity of expoſing the government, and dropping inſinuations, as if, for the ſake of one man, the people were obliged to ſacrifice the honour and intereſt of their country.

It

It was to remove these dangerous prejudices, that a motion was made in the house of commons for an address to his majesty, acknowledging his great goodness and wisdom in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the most expeditious methods of bringing the negociations at Soissons to a speedy and honourable conclusion; expressing their grateful sense of his majesty's watchful care for the ease and interest of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expensive war, as long as there was any prospect of obtaining a safe and honourable peace; and finally assuring him, that the house, in an entire confidence of his majesty's tender regard for his own honour, and that of the nation, rested fully satisfied, that, as soon as necessity required, he would not fail to take the first opportunity of doing justice to himself and the nation, and securing the trade and commerce of the kingdom.

Though nothing could be more decent and proper than these expressions; yet the opposition, in order to expose the conduct of the ministry, raised a debate upon a meer quibble. They moved, that his majesty should be addressed not to *secure*, but to *restore* the commerce of the kingdom. This cavil was evidently below the notice of criticism;

ticiſm; yet it gave the anti-courtiers an excellent handle for declaiming upon a point, which the miniſtry could neither excuſe nor palliate, the depredations of the Spaniards.

In order to weaken the force of their arguments, Sir William Young endeavoured, and, with ſome ſucceſs, to prove, that the diſcrimination between reſtoring and ſecuring commerce was a diſtinction without a difference; becauſe ſuppoſing, which he did not admit, that the Britiſh commerce was ruined, it muſt be reſtored, before it could be ſecured. He ſaid, that whatever was juſt in the outcry againſt the Spaniſh depredations, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the intolerable avarice of ſome Engliſh interlopers, who carried on unlawful traffic with the ſubjects of Spain in America, in defiance of treaties and the law of nations, as well as to the manifeſt prejudice of the fair Britiſh trader.

A pamphlet had lately been wrote in favour of the miniſter, and under his immediate countenance and inſpection; and was ſuppoſed to be the work of a prelate who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his political tracts againſt the Tory miniſtry towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign. This pamphlet, though compoſed in a genteel and ſpirited ſtile, contained ſome capital in-

inaccuracies, which the miniſter, who, in matters of that kind, was inexcuſably careleſs, had ſuffered to paſs uncorrected.

Nevertheleſs, as it was known to be a work of authority, Mr. Thomſon and ſome others of the court members ventured to quote it in defence of the adminiſtration: in particular they mentioned ſome paſſages, tending to vindicate the miniſtry in that unpopular part of their conduct, the keeping admiral Hoſier's fleet ſo long inactive on the coaſts of America.

Nothing could be more impolitic than this proceeding; for, beſides its being unparliamentary, it gave the oppoſition great advantages. Mr. Pulteney, by expoſing one palpable inconſiſtency in the pamphlet, that of confounding the Spaniſh flotilla with the galleons, turned the whole of the court writings into ridicule; and thereby weakened the influence, which they might otherwiſe have had upon the public. The abſtracts too, contained in the pamphlet, from admiral Hoſier's inſtructions, and thoſe of other ſea-officers, were repreſented as unfair, becauſe the whole of their orders had not been exhibited. Captain, afterwards admiral, Vernon, made a conſiderable figure in this debate. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the ſervice, and

had few in the houſe, who could contradict him from their own experience, he endeavoured to prove, that the extracts from Hoſier's inſtructions were ſpurious, or, if not ſpurious, that the inſtructions themſelves were abſolutely impracticable. The oppoſition, moreover, were aſſiſted in this diſpute by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls, of whoſe acceſſion to their party they were not a little vain. He was eſteemed an upright judge, and uncorrupt ſenator. His affection for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion and the intereſt of his country was never called in queſtion; and his knowledge both in law and equity was allowed to be great. With all theſe good qualities, he was but a weak politician, and a very indifferent ſpeaker. Nevertheleſs he was ſo much eſteemed for his integrity and patriotiſm, that the oppoſition thought they had gained a conſiderable point in bringing him over to their ſide. His prepoſſeſſions in favour of the old Whig principles were ſo ſtrong, that he could not bear the thoughts of England's detaching herſelf from the houſe of Auſtria, and joining her intereſt with that of Bourbon. This was a revolution in politics, which he could not comprehend, and which, in his opinion, endangered the conſtitution of the kingdom, the ſecurity of which, he ſaid,

ſaid, ought to be ſtill more dear to them than the ſecurity of commerce. In a word, the ableſt ſpeakers, on both ſides, exerted their utmoſt abilities in this triſling debate; but the queſtion being at laſt put, whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ninety-four againſt eighty-ſeven.

The oppoſition, though foiled, were not diſcouraged. They renewed their attacks, with redoubled vigour, againſt the continuance of the ſame number of land-forces, which had been granted in the preceding year, amounting nearly to twenty three thouſand men. Had their arguments been as juſtly applied, as they were plauſibly urged, they muſt have been allowed to be altogether unanſwerable. But the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the ſtate of affairs in Europe, had received ſuch alterations ſince the times, from which their arguments were borrowed, that the reaſoning was abſurd, and the inferences inconcluſive.

It was alledged, however, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that the court of Vienna having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of that augmentation of the army, which the differences lately ſubſiſting

between the houſe of Auſtria, and the crown of Great-Britain had occaſioned. It was obſerved, in reply, that, as no definitive reſolution had been taken by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, a reduction of the national troops, during ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, would only encourage the Imperialiſts and Spaniards to inſiſt upon higher terms, and make the latter, in particular, more inſolent and outrageous in the American ſeas. This argument was deemed ſatisfactory; and the houſe reſolved, without a diviſion, to continue the ſame number of forces, which had been allowed in the preceding year.

The next object that ingroſſed their attention, was the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops engaged in the ſervice of Great-Britain. The anti courtiers, after making the moſt ample profeſſions of their inviolable regard for his majeſty's honour, alledged, that the ſum demanded for the ſupport of thoſe troops, was too great, conſidering the heavy load of taxes, under which the nation, at that time, laboured.

Mr. P. obſerved, that as the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel uſually maintained a body of ſeven thouſand men, Great-Britain ought only to pay for the five thouſand additional troops which he had raiſed, in conſequence of his convention with this kingdom;

dom: and that, with regard to the duke of Wolfenbottel, the Engliſh, by paying him for four thouſand men, juſt enabled him to defray the expence of the common number of troops, which he always kept on foot.

He was anſwered by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, that the meaſure of hiring German troops, had preſerved the peace of the empire, and the general tranquillity of Europe; and had induced the emperor to accept preliminaries for a general pacification, after having engaged in his ſervice, the troops of three electors, and made a conſiderable augmentation of his own forces.

The meaſure, however, was violently oppoſed, even by ſome of the old Whig members, who thought it both diſgraceful and burdenſome to the nation. Notwithſtanding all their objections, the houſe reſolved, by a great majority, to continue the pay of the twelve thouſand Heſſians, as well as the ſubſidies to Sweden and Wolfenbottel. The king, however, was requeſted, in an addreſs, that, whenever it ſhould be neceſſary to take into his ſervice any foreign troops, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his endeavours, that they might be cloathed with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

The depredations of the Spaniards ſtill continuing, and even increaſing, the anti-

courtiers laboured to perſuade the people, that theſe outrages were entirely owing to the tame conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, who were afraid of coming to a rupture with Spain. The truth is, the miniſtry had been rather too averſe to violent meaſures. They believed, indeed, and not without reaſon, that moſt of the captures were of ſuch ſhips as had been concerned in an illicit trade; and therefore they thought it impolitic, on account of theſe veſſels only, to plunge the nation into an expenſive war.

It happening, however, that the Spaniards made prize of a few ſhips engaged in a lawful trade, the oppoſition laid hold of this circumſtance, and improved it ſo much to their own advantage, and the prejudice of the miniſters, that the people in general were filled with indignation. Petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade, for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies. Theſe being conſidered, the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the ſame kind, which they had received, that they might be laid before the congreſs at Soiſſons; and addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all the

the letters and inſtructions which had been ſent to admiral Hoſier, and thoſe who ſucceeded him in the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron.

Having obtained theſe neceſſary informations, they enquired into particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations; for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction; and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The king aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſo much importance; and they, in another addreſs, thanked him for his gracious anſwer.

The commons having made farther progreſs in the enquiry, and received freſh petitions from the merchants, agreed to the following reſolutions: that ſeveral ſhips, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the merchants of this kingdom trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had been taken by the Spaniards, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for which no reſtitution had, as yet, been made; and that the maſters and crews of ſeveral

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of the ſaid ſhips had been barbarouſly and inhumanly treated: that, in order to take the neceſſary care of the intereſts and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects, and thoſe of his allies, who were deeply concerned in the cargo and effects belonging to the Flota and galleons; and to the end that the ſaid treaſure ſhould not be employed in carrying on and ſupporting dangerous meaſures and engagements againſt his majeſty and his allies; the orders and inſtructions given to vice-admiral Hoſier, to block up the Flota and galleons, and to endeavour to ſecure and detain them, without embezzlement, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his majeſty and his allies, were juſt, prudent, and neceſſary, tending very much to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Theſe reſolutions were communicated, in an addreſs, to his majeſty, who was again requeſted to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction to the unhappy ſufferers; and he aſſured them, that he would not fail to comply with their requeſt.

The attention of the commons was now diverted to an object of a more private, but more intereſting nature. Mr. Oglethorpe, having been informed of ſhocking cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed by gaolers upon their

their priſoners, moved for an examination into theſe practices; and was choſen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the gaols of the kingdom.

They began with the Fleet-priſon, which they viſited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge, the warden, to whom he had given ſome ſlight cauſe of offence. They made a diſcovery of many inhuman barbarities committed by that ruffian, and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion.

When the report was made by the committee, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the fleet, had wilfully permitted ſeveral priſoners to eſcape; had been guilty of the moſt notorious breaches of truſt, great extortions, and the higheſt crimes and miſdemeanours in the execution of his office: that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and deſtroyed priſoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation of the laws of the kingdom.

A reſolution of the ſame nature was paſſed againſt John Huggens, late warden of the Fleet priſon; as alſo againſt James Barnes,

Barnes, William Pindar, John Everett, and Thomas King, who had been their accomplices in these barbarities. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he would order his attorney-general to prosecute these delinquents, who were committed to Newgate, A bill was prepared, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden: another for the better regulating the Fleet-prison; and for more effectual preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

Complaints having been made of the deficiency of the civil-list revenue, some members moved for an address to his majesty, entreating him to order an account of these revenues for one year to be laid before the house. The address was presented; the account produced; and the house, in a grand committee, took the affair into consideration. The ministry affirmed, that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty; and therefore moved, that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, should be granted to the king, on account of those deficiencies and arrears.

This motion was violently opposed by the members in the opposition. They said it had never been insinuated, that the duties and

and revenues, granted for the ſupport of the civil-liſt, fell ſhort of eight hundred thouſand pounds a year, but on the contrary, were always ſuppoſed to exceed that ſum. The miniſtry, on the other hand, appealed to facts, and to the examinations of the ſeveral officers of the revenue, which the houſe had taken. Theſe were ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that the motion was approved by a majority of ſeven hundred and forty-one againſt one hundred and fifteen.

The great ſtrength of the miniſtry in both houſes, and the facility with which they carried every intereſting queſtion, did not fail to open the mouths of their enemies, who imputed it ſolely to the force of corruption. This clamour, however ill founded, became at laſt ſo general, that the oppoſition reſolved to convert it to their own advantage. With this view a bill was produced by Mr. Watkins Williams Wynn, for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections. As nothing could be more unexceptionable than the title of this bill, the party imagined, that if the miniſter ſhould oppoſe it, he would encreaſe ſtill farther the popular clamour againſt him, and if he ſuffered it to paſs, he would thereby diminiſh his own influence. The miniſter was

too

too sagacious not to perceive, and too wise to think of disappointing their intention; and the bill accordingly passed through the house with the utmost dispatch.

The opposition, though equally weak, were no less eager in the upper than in the lower house. The court of Spain had strongly insisted on the restitution of Gibraltar, in consequence of a positive promise, which, they alledged, the late king had given in a letter to his Catholic majesty. From a copy of this letter, which was now laid before the house, it plainly appeared, that nothing could be more absurd and ridiculous than the pretensions of the court of Madrid. His majesty had only said, that he would make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate the article of the restitution of Gibraltar, with the consent of his parliament. The promise, therefore, was no other than conditional; and could not, in any sense, be binding on his Britannic majesty, unless his parliament should give their consent.

The lords, however, engaged in the opposition, made a handle of this letter, to declaim against the ministry, and to propose a motion, that, for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, ef-

effectual care ſhould be taken in the preſent treaty, that the king of Spain ſhould renounce all claim and pretenſion to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorça, in plain and expreſs terms.

The lords rejected this motion, upon the beſt and moſt ſolid grounds. They thought, that Great-Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, to Gibraltar and Minorca, than ſhe poſſibly could have by any perſonal act or renunciation of his Catholic majeſty. The deſiring any ſuch act would imply a kind of invalidity of the right, by which theſe poſſeſſions were already held. The king and kingdom of Spain, no doubt, would readily embrace the firſt opportunity of endeavouring to recover theſe places; nor would any renunciation, however ſtrong and peremptory, prevent their laying hold of ſuch an occaſion, whenever it ſhould offer. Beſides, ſhould his Catholic majeſty, as there was reaſon to believe he would, refuſe to grant any ſuch renunciation, as was now propoſed, all Europe would be apt to think, that Great-Britain held theſe conqueſts by a very weak and invalid title.

Such were the ſolid and ſubſtantial reaſons, which induced the lords to reject the motion, though a proteſt was entered by ſeven-

teen peers. Their lordſhips, however, agreed to a reſolution, in which they were joined by the commons, that they entirely relied upon his majeſty, that he would, for maintaining the honour, and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty, to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar, and the iſland of Minorca.

When the houſe examined the papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations, the lords in the oppoſition made a motion to reſolve, that the expence of the ſquadron ſent to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Hoſier, having been borne by this nation alone, though deſigned to prevent the Spaniards from ſeizing the effects belonging to his majeſty's allies, as well as his ſubjects, which were on board of the flota and galleons, and from applying the treaſure to diſturb the peace, and invade the liberties of Europe, had been an unreaſonable burden on this kingdom. After a violent debate, the motion was rejected, and followed by another proteſt.

The oppoſition, not diſcouraged by this defeat, renewed their attacks againſt the bill paſſed by the commons, granting to his majeſty one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds towards making good the arrears of the

the civil list revenue. They alledged, that the act establishing that revenue, provided only, that, should it fall short of the whole sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, for any one year, the deficiency should be supplied out of the next aids granted by parliament; but that no such deficiency appearing to have happened within the year, the sum now voted was, in fact, a new grant to the crown: and that, in any event, the grant was entirely irregular and unparliamentary, as it had not been demanded by the crown, or proposed to the parliament in the usual manner.

It was urged in reply, that large arrears, not paid in time, to answer the immediate exigencies of government, were, in fact, deficiencies; so that the real arguments against the grant were only applicable to the misapplication of the terms; especially as care had been taken, in drawing up the bill, to make provision for repaying the money to the public, out of any sum that might be in arrears at the time of his majesty's decease.

This was the substance of the arguments on both sides, though the opposition took occasion to throw many invidious reflections on the ministry, whom they accused of weakness, prodigality, and corruption. It

muſt be owned indeed, that the meaſure itſelf, however juſt and reaſonable, was liable to exceptions, with regard to the manner of propoſing it to the parliament. Perhaps the great ſums which his majeſty was obliged to expend, in order to maintain the tranquillity of Europe, might have encouraged the miniſter, upon this occaſion, to hazard a ſmall ſtretch of his parliamentary intereſt. Be that as it will, the bill paſſed the upper houſe by a great majority, and was attended, as uſual, by a vigorous proteſt.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers on the ſeventeenth day of May, when, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions, he ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament.

His majeſty, having appointed the queen regent of the realm, ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the ſame month, in order to remove a ſlight miſunderſtanding, which had happened, between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia; and the regency of Hanover had ſeized ſome Pruſſian officers by way of repriſal.

Though

Though the congreſs at Soiſſons proved ineffectual, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, importing, that all former treaties and conventions between the crown of Great-Britain and Spain, ſhould be as amply confirmed, as if they had been expreſsly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties ſhould guaranty to each other their reſpective dominions; and, in caſe of either of them being attacked, the other ſhould furniſh to the party ſo invaded, a body of twelve thouſand men: that all ſuch engagements contracted by his Britannic majeſty in conſequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were inconſiſtent with the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, ſhould be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould be reſtored to its former footing; and orders ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched on all ſides for that purpoſe: that his Catholic majeſty ſhould make reparation for all the damages, that had been done by his ſubjects to thoſe of the other two parties: that commiſſaries ſhould be nominated with ſufficient powers on the part

of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhould aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the exchange of the ratifications, or ſooner, if poſſible, to examine and decide whatever concerned the ſhips and effects taken on either ſide: that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe examine, and decide according to the treaties, the reſpective pretenſions, which relate to the abuſes that were ſuppoſed to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other reſpective pretenſions in America, founded on treaties, whether with reſpect to the limits, or otherwiſe: that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe diſcuſs and decide the pretenſions, which his Catholic majeſty might have, by the treaty of 1721, to the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in 1718: that the ſaid commiſſaries, after having examined, diſcuſſed, and decided the above mentioned claims and pretenſions, ſhould make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who, by the preſent treaty, promiſed, that, within the ſpace of ſix months, after making the ſaid report, they would cauſe to be executed, punctually and exactly, what ſhould have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſaries: that ſix thouſand of his Catholic majeſty's troops

troops ſhould, without loſs of time, be ſent to garriſon Leghorn, Porto-Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia; which troops ſhould ſerve for the better ſecuring and preſerving the ſucceſſion of the ſtates, in favour of the infant Don Carlos, and ſhould be ready to withſtand any enterprize and oppoſition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had been regulated touching the ſucceſſion: that the contracting powers ſhould take the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, to admit theſe garriſons upon their promiſing to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that ſhould not be contrary to the right of ſucceſſion, reſerved to the infant Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle, directly or indirectly in the government of the places where they ſhould be garriſoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma all the honours that are due to ſovereigns in their own dominions: that his Catholick majeſty ſhould withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion of thoſe territories ſhould be quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don Carlos: that the contracting powers ſhould become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma and Placentia, after he had

had once obtained them: that the kings of Great-Britain and France ſhould ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhould be concerted between his Catholic majeſty and the two dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, relating to the ſaid garriſons: and that the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which ſhould be diſpatched within the ſpace of ſix months at fartheſt.

Such were the contents of the famous treaty of Seville, which, aided by other events that ſoon after happened, produced ſuch a conſiderable change in the ſtate of affairs in Europe. The Britiſh parliament meeting on the thirteenth day of January,* the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them, that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt: and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction both of his land and ſea-forces.

* A. D. 1730.

forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of the public credit, and the hardſhips of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons having returned to their houſe, the treaty of Seville was laid before them; and the court party moved for a very particular and loyal addreſs of thanks, conceived almoſt in the very terms of his majeſty's ſpeech. This motion was violently oppoſed by the country party, who propoſed ſimply to aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government, and family; and of their readineſs to ſupport him in all meaſures which ſhould be neceſſary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the intereſt and welfare of his people.

In ſupport of this alteration, they threw out many ſevere and bitter reflections againſt the ſubſtance of the treaty, which had for ſome time been ſubmitted to the candour of the public. Sir John Hind Cotton, a ſharp, ſarcaſtic, but ſuperficial ſpeaker, was generally conſidered as one of the chief Tories in the houſe, and was always eager to join in any oppoſition to the government. He ſaid, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty in calling the peace an abſolute one; in as much as the moſt important intereſts

intereſts of Great-Britain were left to a future diſcuſſion. The miniſter maintained that the peace was abſolute; and that no difficulties could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them, by the diſſenſions that might happen in Great-Britain. The queſtion being at laſt put, whether to draw up the addreſs in the original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-two againſt one hundred and twenty-nine.

When the houſe of lords took the treaty of Seville into conſideration, a warm and violent debate enſued. It was alledged by the oppoſition, that his Imperial majeſty would certainly detach himſelf from the intereſts of a people, whoſe miniſters had concluded a treaty ſo eſſentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was anſwered, that there neither was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely and honeſtly reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion of the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia: that introducing Spaniſh inſtead of neutral troops into the garriſons of thoſe dominions could make no material difference; eſpecially as the treaty had, in the ſtrongeſt manner,

ner, ſtipulated the recalling thoſe troops as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the dutchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured: and finally, that, though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion and the quadruple alliance; yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatisfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations, that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehenſions from a reſentment that could be founded only upon pride and ambition.

The anti-courtiers too exclaimed violently againſt the ſixth article, obliging the merchants, and others, who had ſuffered by the Spaniſh depredations, to repair to the court of Madrid, in order to make proof of their loſſes. This, it was ſaid, was not only a hardſhip upon the ſufferers, but even derogatory to the honour of the nation. The objection, however, was altogether ridiculous and abſurd. It was neceſſary that the merchants ſhould apply where alone they could have redreſs. The commiſſaries were to meet at the court of Spain: they could not properly meet any where elſe, becauſe the validity or invalidity of the captures, which had been made, muſt be diſcuſſed

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in thoſe courts where the proofs were lodged; and the law of nations eſtabliſhes the ſentence of the admiralty of that nation, by whom the capture is made, to be final in all caſes and in all countries. Had the Spaniards been the ſufferers, the complaints muſt have been examined and diſcuſſed in Great-Britain.

Nor was the old exception againſt the miniſtry's having omitted to oblige the crown of Spain to make a formal renunciation of all claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, forgot upon the preſent occaſion; but that was anſwered by the very ſame arguments, that had formerly induced the houſe to reject the motion for inſiſting on ſuch a conceſſion.

The anti-courtiers foiled in point of reaſoning, had recourſe to the next expedient, that of making motions. They moved, that the agreement in the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe. This motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt thirty-one.

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Then they moved, that Great-Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca, was not aſcertained, ſo as to extinguiſh the claims and pretenſions which the Spaniards had ſet up, and which had been followed by an actual ſiege, ſince the ceſſion of thoſe valuable places by the treaty of Utrecht. This motion was likewiſe rejected by as great a majority. A third motion was made that the ſtipulation in the treaty of Seville, for repairing the loſſes of the Britiſh merchants, were inſufficient and precarious; and it ſhared the fate of the two former.

The anti-courtiers being thus entirely defeated, it was moved and carried in favour of the miniſtry, that the treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, concluded at Seville, did contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants.

By this time Vandermeer, the Dutch ambaſſador in Spain, had acceded to the treaty; and the ratification of this act was laid before the parliament on the twenty-third day of January. This acceſſion, however, was

not obtained, till their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties had prevailed upon the king of Spain to join them in their endeavours to procure to the republic an entire ſatisfaction with regard to the trade and navigation of the Eaſt-India Oſtend company, and the ſettlement of the affairs of Eaſt-Friſeland. The States were to furniſh, as their quota, a body of five thouſand men; and, in caſe they ſhould be attacked on account of their preſent acceſſion, they were to be aſſiſted by the other powers engaged in the treaty.

Theſe negociations gave the anti-courtiers in the lower houſe, a pretext for ſaying, that the miniſtry were playing a hidden game; and therefore they moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him to communicate to the houſes any engagements he might have contracted for the payment of ſubſidies to foreign princes, or the hire of foreign troops, which had not already been ſubmitted to their inſpection. This motion was conſidered as highly indecent, and implying a mean ſuſpicion of his majeſty: and accordingly it was thrown out upon a previous queſtion by a majority of two hundred againſt one hundred and ſeven.

Their Britannic and moſt Catholic majeſties had flattered themſelves, that the court of Vienna might be perſuaded to acquieſce in the treaty

treaty of Seville; but they ſoon found they were diſappointed in their expectations. The emperor filled all Europe with reſcripts and remonſtrances againſt the indignity that had been offered to the Imperial court and the Germanic body by that negociation. He was anſwered by the French miniſters, who denied ſome facts charged upon the allies of the Seville treaty; and affirmed in general, that nothing had been done, but what the emperor himſelf was ready to have performed, had certain conditions, eſſential to the intereſts of his family, been granted. This recrimination ſerved rather to exaſperate than convince the court of Vienna. They began to prepare themſelves for war; and as they were in want of money they ſet on foot a negociation for a loan of four hundred thouſand pounds in England.

An affair of ſo much conſequence could not long be kept ſecret: the miniſtry took the alarm; they imagined that the money was to be employed either againſt the tranquillity of England, or, at leaſt, in a war, which muſt certainly affect his majeſty's electoral dominions. In order to prevent theſe dangerous conſequences, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prevent any ſubjects of Great-Britain from advancing any ſums of money to foreign princes or ſtates, without having obtained

licence from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority. The prohibition, however, was not to extend to any subscriptions to the public funds, or trading companies of foreign nations.

When this bill was read a second time, it met with a violent opposition. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who, in foreign affairs, was considered as the oracle of the party, spoke against it with great vehemence. He said, that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: that the article of lending money was so advantageous, that the Dutch, when themselves were engaged in a war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms and ammunition to the enemy: that the bill would disable the British merchants from lending money to his Portuguese majesty; a restriction that might be attended with very bad consequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the ministry with too great and extensive a power: and that the licensing business might, by good husbandry, bring into the minister's pocket, the sum of twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a year.

To this it was answered, that if the emperor could have borrowed money in Holland, where the people would have been glad

glad to lend it him at three per cent. he never would have applied for it in England, where he must pay four: that, if the Dutch, when at war with the Spaniards, had actually furnished them with money, arms, and ammunition, it was a very bad, and a very impolitic measure: that some such practices, perhaps, might, in the late war, have been carried on by a few private Dutch merchants; but that all England, all Europe, nay their own government, had blamed and censured them for such a perfidious conduct: that, as to his Portuguese majesty, it was still in the power of the crown to enable any subject to lend money to a friend; nor could the king be so much his own enemy, as to abuse the power, with which this bill would invest him, in denying any subject the liberty of placing out his money to the best advantage: that the licensing trade, if such it might be called, could not possibly be attended with such exorbitant profits, as had been insinuated: that, even allowing a million of money, a sum double of what could be reasonably supposed to be borrowed by any foreign prince, were the crown to get forty thousand pounds, the lender, even granting him to receive five per cent. would only have one per cent. for his own share.

But the real objection againſt the bill was, that, while it reſtrained the merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the ſtock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Mr Pulteney, laying hold of this circumſtance, ſaid, that he well knew for whoſe benefit this complaiſance was intended; but jobbing abroad in the ſtocks of foreign nations was what the government ſhould leaſt encourage, and what they ought principally to prohibit; for the nation had ſuffered ſeverely by that means already; nor had the miniſtry ever given them any relief or aſſiſtance: that the Engliſh had been egregiouſly deceived, by the French, in the affair of the Miſſiſſippi, by receiving paper inſtead of ſpecie: and the miniſtry had been inexcuſably negligent in that particular; for they had never interpoſed their good offices, in order to procure to the unhappy ſufferers, the leaſt redreſs or reparation.

Though, of all the arguments againſt the bill, this was the moſt ſenſible, yet it came with a very bad grace from thoſe who oppoſed it, and who endeavoured to maintain the abſolute neceſſity of leaving the trading part of the nation at entire liberty. The chief defect in the bill, and that of which the miniſtry were moſt apprehenſive, was,

that

that it allowed of any dealings in the funds of foreign nations; becauſe, while ſuch dealings were ſuffered, it would be eaſy for any Engliſhman inclined to lend his money to the emperor, to elude the force of the act. The oppoſers of the bill, however, did not puſh this objection ſo far as it might have been carried; afraid, perhaps, leſt the miniſtry might have taken them at their word, a circumſtance which would have ruined their popularity with the monied intereſt.

Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, in all his ſpeeches in ſupport of the bill, reſted its merit entirely upon the neceſſity of the meaſure at that particular juncture, An exception being propoſed, by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor ſolely, without extending to other powers, Sir Robert ſaid, that the circumſtance of any prince, ſtate, or potentate, being equally intended with the emperor, was no objection to the bill in queſtion: that the deſign of it, indeed, was to prevent a war with that prince; but to name him in the preſent caſe, diſtinctly from others, would amount to a full declaration of war; and, beſides one prince might borrow money for another, and elude the ſpirit of the law: that, with regard to the king of Portugal, or any other

prince

prince in alliance with Great-Britain, his majesty would readily grant his permission for loans to his faithful allies: that after all, the law would not be put in execution, but in case of apparent necessity: if the emperor gave his majesty reason to oppose his intentions, it might produce a future proclamation: this, however, was eventual: it might, or it might not happen; and, if ever it should happen, no subject of Great-Britain, no British merchants abroad, could offend through ignorance of such a proclamation: the bill was drawn with a blank, to be filled with a proper limitation of time, before the law should take place; and that limitation might be so large and extensive, that merchants abroad might be fully informed of the terms, which the law had prescribed. He added that, for his own part, he was not so conversant in the law as some other gentlemen, who could justly support the bill in its provision for a proper discovery of evidence by precedents; he was a stranger to that particular; he himself remembered the act to prevent the subjects of Great-Britain from trading in the Ostend company: that there the same method of discovery was provided; and should not the public detect such a criminal commerce with a powerful and a national enemy, when they

they were allowed to do ſo againſt a little interloping company? that the bill was far from ſetting up a court of inquiſition, or laying hardſhips or ſeverities upon any man; it was only to prevent the fraudulent conducting of concealed tranſactions: it involved the party in no other penalty, than one, which he could not incur but through conſcious guilt; and one, at the ſame time, which he might eaſily avoid, by purging himſelf of the crime: that this penalty, beſides, was, ſtill to be limitted by the authority of the houſe; and had no other end than to be ſuch a tax upon loans as might make it unprofitable to advance them for the higheſt premiums or intereſt: that the proclamation provided in the bill was the ſame as by law had been uſual in the caſe of quarantine, in apprehenſions of a peſtilence, and as a prevention of any contagious diſtempers: that it was a reaſonable remedy on all ſuch appearances of danger: that nevertheleſs, it would not be employed, unleſs ſuch grievances happened; and, if they did happen, they certainly deſerved a redreſs.

A member of the oppoſition ſaid, that he had a point of order to debate: that the honourable gentleman had brought in the name of the king, to influence their deliberations, contrary

trary to the ſtanding rule of the houſe; that it was an old and conſtitutional maxim, that the name of the king ſhould never be uſed, upon any occaſion, to overawe their proceedings, or to overbear their debates: that, if the honourable gentleman had been properly careful of his majeſty's honour, he would not have mentioned his name in the preſent caſe; he would have informed the houſe of the evidence he had, and regularly have ſubmitted it to their conſideration: that whatever that evidence might be, he ſuppoſed it might come from foreign miniſters; and he thought the houſe ought to have it opened in a proper parliamentary manner: that, for his own part, he was againſt the bill; he thought it reſtrained commerce in one branch, and they might as well prohibit it in every other.

Sir Robert Walpole replied, that the meaning of his declaration had been very much miſtaken: that what he had ſaid was ſtrictly conſiſtent with the rules of parliament: he well knew and duly obſerved the orders of the houſe: that he had not brought in the name of his majeſty to influence gentlemen, nor overawe the debates; that he had mentioned the poſitive aſſurances, which had been received; not as a meſſage from the king, but by his majeſty's leave; not by his command, but only by his permiſſi-

on;

on; that the ſtation he was in obliged him to aſk that permiſſion; becauſe, by his oath, he was bound to keep the king's counſels ſecret: that he therefore had aſked this liberty from his majeſty yeſterday morning, apprehending the debate of this day would require him to mention it; and he offered only to prove the importance of the bill now under conſideration.

Mr. Plummer, one of the moſt ſenſible ſpeakers in the oppoſition, declared, that he was far from diſapproving of the bill: he only thought it gave too much power to the miniſtry; and that it ought not to be carried into execution by a proclamation, which, in his opinion, had too much the air of an arbitrary proceeding, and had given occaſion to ſo much diſſatisfaction and diſguſt under the Stuart family.

In anſwer to this objection, Mr. Pelham, ſecretary at war, obſerved, that the friends of the bill had no intention to make the miniſtry judges in matters that could be decided by the houſe: that it was in tenderneſs to the people, that a proclamation was propoſed, as being a more expeditious method, than any other, to put them upon their guard: that it was to be hoped the affair might yet be adjuſted without a proclamation; and if the houſe, inſtead of making it eventual, would conſent to paſs it imme-

immediately, he would be far from oppoſ- any ſuch meaſure.

Mr. afterwards Sir John Barnard, one of the city members, alledged, that if the bill ſhould paſs in its preſent form, it would open a channel for the Dutch to carry on a very lucrative branch of buſineſs, to the prejudice of England: that the emperor ought to be mentioned by name, as the power prohibited to borrow; otherwiſe all the ſtates of Europe would think themſelves equally injured by the act, which would give it an air as if England was at war with the whole world: that he could not approve of the expedient of making the Exchequer a court of Inquiſition: he conceived it to be an odious meaſure, and unknown to the Britiſh conſtitution, that perſons ſhould be obliged to accuſe themſelves, and thereby incur the moſt ſevere penalties: that he knew, indeed, there were ſuch precedents already; but that was ſo much the worſe: precedents could not alter the nature of things; and he thought the liberties of his country of more importance than any precedents whatever.

He was anſwered by Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, who ſhewed his ſuperiority in the knowledge of the law to all who had ſpoke on the ſubject. He obſerved, that if the

Sr. JOHN BARNARD.

Engrav'd for Riders History of England.

the States-General ſhould act as good allies to England, and well wiſhers to the liberties of Europe, they would certainly come to ſome reſolution of the ſame nature with that of the bill in queſtion: that the miniſtry were ſufficiently juſtified in drawing the bill, not only from reaſon, and the fitneſs of things, but alſo from the common law of the kingdom: that his majeſty had a lawful prerogative to recall his ſubjects by proclamation from the ſervice of foreign ſtates; and ſhould he not likewiſe have a power to prohibit them from lending money to thoſe ſtates? the rather, as money might be more uſeful to the enemy, and more dangerous to their country, than even the ſervice of their perſons: that, in Ireland the parliament had made it high-treaſon to inliſt men for foreign ſervice, without licence obtained from the crown; and ſurely a reſtraint upon money, the ſinews of war, was highly expedient every where: that the law was deſigned only to avert an impending evil, and was not to be eſtabliſhed in perpetuity: that there was no other way, in the preſent caſe, of making the law effectual, than by diſcovering evidence by Engliſh bill in the court of Exchequer; and that, without that clauſe, the bill would be uſeleſs, and ought to be thrown out: that he begged leave to remind

the house of the memorable bill, among others, which punished the South-sea directors, and which made it felony to refuse answering, or to demur to a bill for discovery of concealments: that, nevertheless, if they did discover a concealment, the very answer was good evidence against them, and the concealment itself was felony: that, in the present bill, there was a limited sum; and no other penalty could be the consequence of conscious guilt upon such a bill of discovery: that, by construction of a court of equity, such a bill would have been allowed, if the clause for the discovery had not been inserted: that the barons of the Exchequer had maintained the legality of suits, to discover frauds and misdemeanours relating to the revenue; nor could it be denied, that this was as just by parity of reasoning, though, if the house should throw out the clause, the judges might be unwilling to supply it by such a construction.

A member of the opposition said, that, since Sir Robert Walpole had mentioned the article of secret intelligence, he ought to inform the house what that intelligence was. He added, that the emperor having deposited in Holland jewels, as pledges for four hundred thousand pounds, which he wanted to borrow, he knew no reason why he

he and other Engliſhmen, who had money to lend, ſhould not, as well as their neighbours the Dutch, make an advantageous bargain. This laſt fact, however, was denied by other members; and the queſtion for the bill was carried by a conſiderable majority.

The act itſelf was no doubt conſtitutional, and might have been rendered effectual, had the government been in earneſt in carrying it into execution. But the truth is, the bill was only intended to gratify the court of Spain, with which the miniſtry thought proper at that time to maintain a good underſtanding. The pretext, therefore, of any apprehenſions, which Great-Britain could entertain, from the reſentment of the emperor, was merely a political contrivance to amuſe the populace. The miniſter affected great candour and openneſs in all his ſpeeches on this ſubject; and ſeemed readily to give up to the oppoſition every thing but the prudential conſideration, upon which he founded the main ſtreſs of his argument.

The commons having examined the eſtimates for the enſuing year, voted ſeventeen thouſand, ſeven hundred and nine men for the land ſervive. They continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and

the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbottel; and in order to defray theſe and other neceſſary expences, they granted the ſum of two millions, two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds.

The anti-courtiers oppoſed theſe meaſures with great warmth and eagerneſs; but not being able to make any diviſion that would not have expoſed the weakneſs of their party, they were obliged to content themſelves with ſeveral invidious motions. Accordingly, when the land-forces were voted, it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be delivered to his majeſty, humbly to repreſent, that the houſe having, in conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs, voted ſuch a number of land-forces, for the current ſervice of the year, aſſured themſelves, that his majeſty, from his juſt regard to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as well as his earneſt deſire to eaſe his people of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, would take the firſt opportunity to make a farther reduction of thoſe forces, if the ſtate of affairs would admit, before the concluſion of this or the beginning of next ſeſſion of parliament. This motion was conſidered as equally unneceſſary in itſelf and diſreſpectful to his majeſty, whom the houſe had no reaſon to

diſtruſt;

diſtruſt; and it was therefore rejected without a diviſion.

The next expedient, which the party employed, in order to diſtreſs the miniſtry, was, of all others, the moſt popular and plauſible. It was a motion to bring in a bill for making more effectual the laws in being for diſabling perſons from being choſen members of parliament, who had any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office, held in truſt for them, from the crown. The arguments that may be urged on both ſides of this important queſtion, we have already had occaſion to mention. Suffice it at preſent to obſerve, that though the oppoſition had always pretended to condemn the practice of impoſing compulſive oaths upon perſons, in order to make them accuſe themſelves; yet, when it came to anſwer their own purpoſe, they had no objection againſt adopting it. The following oath, to be taken by every member of the houſe, was repreſented, not only as an excuſable, but as a wiſe and neceſſary precaution.

"I do ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, that "I have not, directly or indirectly, any "penſion during pleaſure, or for any num- "ber of years, or any office either in whole "or in part, from the crown, held for me,

"or for my benefit, by any perſon what-
"ſoever: and I do ſolemnly and ſincerely
"promiſe and ſwear, that I will not receive,
"accept, or take, directly or indirectly,
"during the time of my being a member
"of this preſent parliament, any penſion
"during pleaſure, or for any number of
"years, or any gratuity or reward whatſo-
"ever, or any office from the crown, to be
"held for me, or for my benefit, in whole
"or in part, by any perſon whatſoever,
"without ſignifying the ſame to this houſe,
"within fourteen days after I have received
"or accepted the ſame, if the parliament
"be then ſitting, or within fourteen days
"after the next meeting of parliament."
The violation of this oath was to be deemed and puniſhed as wilful and corrupt perjury; and the ſeats of all members, refuſing to take it, were to be vacated, as if they had been actually dead. A penalty of thirty pounds was inflicted upon every member, for every day he ſhould ſit in the houſe, without taking the oath, beſides an incapacity ever after, either to ſerve the crown, or ſit in parliament, or enjoy any place of profit or truſt, under his majeſty or his ſucceſſors.

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous ſelf-denying bill, which has ſince been ſo often renewed, but never enacted into a law. The oppoſers

oppoſers of it indeed, though they expreſſed as ſtrong a deteſtation of corruption as their enemies, had ſome difficulty in conceiving, how the bill, even if paſſed into an act, could poſſibly anſwer the purpoſe intended, without violating the firſt principles of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Suppoſing, ſaid they, a member ſhould declare, within fourteen days, that he has a penſion or gratuity from the crown, or that he has a place held for him in truſt, what, according to the tenour of this bill, is to be the conſequence? None is expreſſed in the bill; and if the miniſter, as is alledged by the friends of the bill, had ſuch an alarming influence over the houſe of commons, as to render the bill neceſſary, they being the only judges of the conſequences of ſuch a declaration, it will be eaſy for him to obtain a vote, for diſpenſing with the member's holding what he has declared he enjoys under the crown. Thus it will always be in the power of a miniſter, not only to elude the purpoſes of the bill, but alſo to defeat the very purpoſes of the acts now in force againſt bribery, and which this penſion-bill, as it is called, is intended to make more effectual.

But, even ſuppoſing the commons to be in good earneſt to expel the member, who thus

thus declares he holds a place or a penſion in defiance of this act, yet ſtill, ſaid the oppoſers of the bill, this would be highly unconſtitutional and indecent, becauſe it implies a power to be lodged in one houſe of parliament, to condemn the juſt and unqueſtionable prerogative of the crown, in making a gift which it has a power to make. This muſt be attended, ſaid they, with moſt unconſtitutional conſequences, as the houſe of commons would then take upon themſelves to ſit as an inquiſition upon the proceedings and prerogative of the crown; by which, as in the laſt century, the crown itſelf might tremble from the head of the ſovereign.

The pernicious conſequences of the bill, did not even ſtop here. The member is obliged to ſwear, that he ſhall not, directly or indirectly, accept of any penſion, gratuity, or reward, or any place in truſt, from the crown. Now, may not the ſevere conſtruction of the word *indirectly*, by a future captious houſe of commons, make a member liable to the penalties of the bill, if the crown ſhould think proper to extend its favour to the wife, children, or relations of a member.

Though the bill ſeems to leave the houſe open to many great officers and placemen, who

who are not diſqualified by it; yet, who can ſay, that the houſe may not, ſome time or or other, apply the word *indirectly* to a member accepting a place or office, that does not diſqualify him according to the ſeeming purport and meaning of the bill.

Add to this, that the exerciſe of any part of the prerogative, even the moſt ſalutary and neceſſary part of it, ſuch as granting pardon for offences; the remitting fines and forfeitures; the granting patents, and the like, may not, ſome time or other, be conſtrued into an indirect influence. The crown has ſufficient powers which it can avow, and which are in no degree affected by the bill, to create as much influence in the houſe of commons as a miniſter may have occaſion to employ; and, unleſs all great offices and places, as well as penſions, become diſqualifications, the purpoſes of the bill never can be anſwered.

The oppoſers of it, therefore, though they were as willing as its friends, to agree to any rational expedient that would reſtrain or extinguiſh corruption, yet believed the preſent contrivance altogether unfit for the purpoſe. Beſides, they thought it as deſtitute of probability, as it was inconſiſtent with the laws and ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, that the king and the peers

peers ſhould give their aſſent to a bill, that inveſted the commons with powers, which, ſhould they be, as in former times, miſapplied, rendered them paramount to the other two branches of the legiſlature, and extended their judicial capacity to matters of which they could not, conſtitutionally, take cognizance.

Theſe arguments, however ſtrong and unanſwerable, were totally diſregarded. The cry of corruption was become ſo general, that many, who in their hearts diſapproved of the bill, were yet induced to vote for its paſſing; a conceſſion which they thought they might make with the greater ſafety, as they had ſome reaſon to believe that it would be rejected by the houſe of peers.

This, in all probability, was the opinion of the miniſter himſelf, who did not exert himſelf on the preſent occaſion with his uſual activity; ſo that the motion in favour of the bill, being ſtrongly ſupported by one party, and but ſlightly oppoſed by the other, was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of ten voices; and Mr. Sandys, Sir Edward Stanley, and Mr. Wyndham were ordered to bring it into the houſe, through which it paſſed with very little difficulty.

When

When it was presented to the upper house, its friends moved for an address to the king, desiring a list of all pensions payable by the crown; but the motion was thrown out by a great majority. The bill having been once read, the question was put whether it should be rejected, and was carried in the affirmative; though not without a violent dispute, and a protest entered by twenty-six peers.

In the course of this session the parliament passed several acts, which, under a more popular ministry, would have met with great and deserved applause. They appropriated one million of the surpluses, arising from the sinking fund, towards the discharge of the national debt; and, by another act, extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition.

They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the inhabitants of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finistere, provided the trade was carried on in British bottoms; and they permitted salt from Europe

rope to be imported into the colony of New York.

The term of the exclusive trade, granted by act of parliament to the East-India company, drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay open that branch of trade to all the subjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions; and, in consideration of an act of parliament, could they obtain one, for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions, two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company.

This proposal, though strongly supported by alderman Barnard and others, was rejected by the parliament, who, for several solid and weighty reasons, thought that the East-India trade could not be carried on with so much spirit and resolution, nor, of consequence, with so much national benefit, by the public in general, as by a private company.

The privilege, therefore, of the former company was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year 1766, upon the following conditions: that they should pay into the Exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand

thouſand pounds, towards the ſupplies of the year, without intereſt or addition to their capital ſtock: that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſhould be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand: and that, after the year 1766, their right to the excluſive trade ſhould be liable to be aboliſhed by parliament, upon their receiving three years notice and repayment of their capital.

The miniſtry, however juſtifiable, and even commendable, in conducting the more important affairs of government, were certainly unaccountably remiſs with regard to the interior police of the kingdom. This neglect was attended with a ſurprizing profligacy of life and manners among the inferior orders of the people. The roads and highways were filled with robbers and aſſaſſins, who ſeized the property, and maimed and murdered the perſons of innocent travellers.

A new ſpecies of villains too, unknown to former times, ſtarted up about this period. Theſe made it a practice to circulate letters demanding ſums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes; and ſometimes, upon their demands not being granted, they actually put their threats in execution. A higher

ſort of ruffians were employed in libelling the moſt laudable meaſures of government; and, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, theſe were encouraged by men, who, conſidering their character in other reſpects, could hardly be ſuſpected of any deſigns againſt the peace of their country.

The king was ſo ſenſible of theſe growing and complicated evils, that, when he put an end to the ſeſſion on the fifteenth day of May, he concluded his ſpeech with the following remarkable words: "My lords "and gentlemen," ſaid he, "I am very "glad, that, for the general ſatisfaction, "you entered into a particular conſidera- "tion of the ſtate of the nation; and it is "a great happineſs to ſee, after ſo many "unjuſt and unreaſonable clamours, raiſed "with all poſſible art, induſtry and malice, "that upon mature deliberation and the "moſt ſolemn debates, you were ſo far "from finding any thing worthy of blame "or cenſure, that all matters that came "under your cognizance, met with your "approbation.

"This muſt inſpire all mankind with a "juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries, who, "from a ſpirit of envy and diſcontent, con- "tinually labour, by ſcandalous libels, to "alienate the affections of my people, and

to

"to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour "of me and my government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament.

"But I entirely rely upon your prudence "and your concern for the peace and happineſs of your country, to diſcountenance "all ſuch ſeditious practices, and to make "my people ſenſible, that theſe wicked "proceedings have no other view and end "than to create confuſion and diſtraction "amongſt us." The parliament was then prorogued to the fourteenth day of July.

Lord Carteret ſtill continued lord lieutenant of Ireland; and the people of that kingdom found themſelves happy under the adminiſtration of ſo good a governour. Their parliament aſſembling in the month of September, employed themſelves with unwearied diligence, in promoting the intereſt and welfare of their country. They eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of their national debt, and for defraying the expence of government: they enacted wholeſome laws for the encouragement of trade and agriculture; and they formed wiſe regulations in different branches of civil œconomy.

They imitated the example of the British parliament in inquiring into the state of their gaols, and inflicting severe penalties on those jailors, who had misbehaved in their office. They had even the courage to examine into the conduct of some eminent justices of the peace and aldermen of Dublin; whom they committed to prison for several malversations, of which they had been guilty.

This year was distinguished by some foreign events of great importance, which had a considerable effect upon the political system of Europe. In the month of September, Victor Amadæus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. This step was owing to his falling in love, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, with the countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, whom he married in her retirement.

In October, Peter the second Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter the first, died at Muscow; and was succeded on the throne by the princess Anne Jvanowna, second daughter of John Alexiowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William, duke of Courland.

The nobility of Russia, though born slaves, had felt too severely the effects of an arbi-

arbitrary government, not to be desirous of tasting some of the sweets of that liberty, which, they knew, was enjoyed by most of the other nations in Europe. They therefore obliged the new Czarina to sign an instrument, by which she, in fact, shared the sovereign authority with her privy-covncil, and resigned the most essential branches of her prerogative.

This scheme would probably have succeeded, had it not been for the unpopularity of the Dolgorucki family, who had abused their power in the late reign, and were the chief instruments of the present change of government. The Czarina had no sooner consented to the partition of her power, than she found means to assemble the privy-council in her palace, when she surrounded them with her guards, and compelled them to restore the paper she had signed, which they instantly tore in pieces. Having thus recovered her sovereign authority, she exerted it at once in sending all the Dolgorucki family into banishment.

The other states of the North enjoyed a profound tranquillity. The new king of Denmark began his reign by making some reprisals upon the queen dowager, contrary to the express commands of his father. The prince royal of Prussia, upon attempt-

ing to escape from his father, was brought back and confined, with some circumstances of severity, to the castle of Custrin. The emperor interceded in his behalf; and the old king forgave him, upon his making his humble submission. Katt, however, his favourite, a lieutenent of the Gens d'Arms, was ordered to be beheaded.

The month of November was rendered remarkable by the death of pope Benedict the thirteenth, who was succeeded in the papal chair by Laurence Corsini, under the name of Clement the twelfth. About this period the inhabitants of Corsica, galled by the yoke of their merciless sovereigns, the Genoese, rose in arms, and published a manifesto, importing, that their only intention in so doing was to assert the liberties and privileges of their country.

The earl of Kinnoul had been sent ambassador to the court of Constantinople, where he met with a very distinguished reception from the Grand Signior and the Vizier; but during his abode at that place, a most surprizing revolution was effected in the government without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Musselmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the state. They soon increased

creaſed to the number one hundred thouſand; marched to the Seraglio; and demanded the heads of the grand vizier, the kiaja, and the captain baſſa. Theſe unhappy miniſters were immediately ſtrangled. Their bodies being delivered to the inſurgents, were dragged through the ſtreets; and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this ſacrifice, the revolters depoſed the grand ſignior, Achmet, who was confined to the ſame priſon, from whence they brought his nephew, Mahomet, and raiſed him to the throne, after he had lived about ſix years in confinement,

France was at this time ſo diſtracted with religious diſſenſions, that nothing, but the profound veneration, which the people of that country have for the perſon of their ſovereign, could have poſſibly prevented the flames of a civil war. Cardinal Fleury, who was himſelf a tool of the pope and the Jeſuits, had prevailed on Lewis the fifteenth to compel his ſubjects to accept of the conſtitution Unigenitus. This divided the whole kingdom into Conſtitutioniſts and Anticonſtitutioniſts. The former conſiſted of the king, the cardinal, ſome bigotted prieſts and proſtituted courtiers; the latter of all the parliaments and men of ſenſe in the

the kingdom. The regal power, however, bore down all oppoſition; and the birth of the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the king of France, happening at the height of the diſpute, the people loſt their reſentment in their congratulations.

In England, the power of the miniſter was ſo far from being diminiſhed by the clamour raiſed againſt his adminiſtration, that his influence and authority ſeemed rather to increaſe; and his friends ſucceeded daily to every vacancy that happened in the government. His brother Horatio Walpole was made cofferer of the houſhold, in the room of the late earl of Clinton: Mr. Pelham was appointed pay-maſter of the forces, in the room of Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, who was entruſted with the cuſtody of the privy-ſeal; the lord Trevor was preferred to be preſident of the council. The earl of Cheſterfield was conſtituted ſteward, lord Hervey vice chamberlain, and Sir Conyers D'Arcy comptroller of the houſhold. The duke of Dorſet ſucceeded lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland. The famous lord Torrington was placed at the head of the Admiralty, and the earl of Weſtmoreland declared firſt commiſſioner of trade and plantations.

Such

Such a profuſion of favours, heaped upon the friends of one man, could not fail to diſguſt ſome old ſervants of the crown, who thought their importance eclipſed, or their merits under-valued. Of this number was Charles, lord Townſend, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities and uncorrupted integrity, who reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, together with the lieutenancy of the county of Norfolk. The laſt of theſe was beſtowed upon his ſon, who, at the ſame time, was made maſter of the Jewel office. He was ſucceeded in the ſecretary-ſhip by colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington, whoſe knowledge in foreign affairs, and approved ability in conducting negociations, rendered the reſignation of lord Townſend the leſs alarming to the public.

Such was the poſture of the affairs of Europe, ſuch the ſtate of the government of England, when the parliament met on the twenty-firſt day of January.* The emperor's obſtinacy ſeemed daily to increaſe, and to threaten the Continent with a new war. He ſtill continued to exclaim againſt the allies; and had ordered a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppoſe the intro-

* A. D. 1731.

introduction of the Spaniſh garriſons, ſtipulated by the treaty of Seville. The king, at the opening of the ſeſſion, took notice of theſe circumſtances in his ſpeech, which was chiefly employed in exhorting the parliament to enable him to execute the treaty by force, if gentle means ſhould prove ineffectual.

The commons had no ſooner returned to their houſe, than a motion was made for a loyal addreſs to his majeſty; but the anti-courtiers inſiſted on reſtricting it to a ſimple promiſe to aſſiſt him only in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary for procuring ſatisfaction to his allies, and providing for the intereſts of his people; expreſſing, at the ſame time, their hopes, that his majeſty would take care to prevent the breaking out of a war upon the Rhine, or in the Auſtrian Netherlands, the preſervation of which, in the hands that now held them, was of the greateſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and the maintenance of which had coſt the nation ſo much blood and treaſure.

In ſupport of this alteration, many plauſible reaſons were urged; for the party had the advantage of having on their ſide all the popular topics, which experience, however, has ſince evinced

evinced to have been, in ſome caſes, no more than empty ſounds.

They alledged, that the power of France was dangerous to the liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe: that evidence could be produced of that people having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht: that they had made violent incroachments upon the Engliſh in the Weſt-Indies, the natural conſequences of thoſe pernicious connexions, which we had lately contracted with them: that for England to join with France, in any attempt againſt the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would be acting againſt the very intention of that glorious confederacy, which had humbled the power of France, under the duke of Marlborough: that it would deſtroy that ballance of power, which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and had been the chief advantage that England or Europe had derived from that confederacy: that, in any event, it was extremely dangerous, and inexpedient to promiſe, the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, to ſupport all his majeſty's meaſures and engagements, before they knew what thoſe meaſures were: and that, in fact, ſuch an aſſurance rendered all their future deli-

deliberations for every ſeſſion, uſeleſs and inſignificant

The miniſter and his friends found themſelves hard preſſed by theſe popular arguments. As they were declared Whigs, they could not, with any conſiſtency, deny, that it would be extremely prejudicial to public liberty, ſhould England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, againſt the emperor; and yet nothing could could be more plain than that the amendment propoſed, was impolitic in itſelf, and diſreſpectful to his majeſty.

After ingenuouſly acknowledging their difficulties on the firſt head, they obſerved, that, if the amendment was approved, it would have the worſt of conſequences both at home and abroad, as if his majeſty had intended any thing but what was neceſſary for the intereſt of England, and agreeable to the principles of public liberty: that ſuch an inſinuation could only diſcourage the friends of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and therefore they ought to truſt to his majeſty's wonted prudence: and finally, that the putting ſuch words in the addreſs, would look like an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, and directing the operations of the future war.

The

The anti-courtiers aſked, ſuppoſing the French ſhould be ſucceſsful in making acquiſitions from the emperor, in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, how was it poſſible for his majeſty, with all the power the parliament could give him, to prevent the dreadful conſequences that muſt enſue?

Lord Hervey replied, that the houſe of Auſtria, as well as the houſe of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, deſtroy that ballance of power, which was ſo juſtly dear to England: that the preſent conduct of the French court could give no juſt umbrage: that pulling down the houſe of Bourbon, only to enable the houſe of Auſtria to play the ſame game in which the other had miſcarried, was highly abſurd: that, in fact, he did not doubt, but his majeſty had intereſt enough with his allies, to concert meaſures that ſhould prevent all the bad conſequences, which gentlemen ſeemed ſo much to apprehend: that, in the mean time, to agree to the propoſed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might do as he pleaſed, ſince he was invulnerable at preſent in Italy, by the ſituation of his dominions, and the great number of troops which he had in that country: and therefore, if the allies ſhould agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in

the Netherlands, his majesty and his allies had nothing to do, but to take the law from the court of Vienna. After an obstinate dispute, the address was voted in its original form, and such another, preceded by a like contest, was carried in the house of peers.

The anti-courtiers observing, that the nation was highly incensed at the rejection of the pension-bill, resolved once more to repeat the experiment. The motion was introduced with great solemnity; and, after passing, with very little difficulty, through the lower house, was sent up to the higher, where it was rejected.

Among those who opposed it, was the bishop of Bangor, who, despising popular prejudices, and founding his speech upon the true principles of reason and the British constitution, had the courage to strip the motion of its glare of popularity, and expose its bad tendency to the view of the house.

After advancing a great number of unanswerable arguments, he concluded his speech with the following remarkable words: "though this bill at first might seem to be "a self denying act, and to some particular "members may, perhaps, prove so; yet "the commons, considered as an house of "parliament, will find in it no doubt a very "great

"great enlargement of power; and what-
"ever tends to break the ballance between
"the powers eſſential to this conſtitution,
"muſt, ſooner or later, prove the ruin of the
"whole. An independent houſe of commons,
"or an independent houſe of lords, is as in-
"conſiſtent with our conſtitution, as an inde-
"pendent, that is, an abſolute king; and
"whoever loves the liberties and laws of
"his country, will no more deſire to ſee the
"one than the other. Let bribery be
"puniſhed: let corruption be puniſhed: but
"let us not give ſo much ſtrength to one
"part of the conſtitution as ſhall make it
"able to overpower the reſt."

The biſhop, it is plain, conſulted more the dictates of his own underſtanding, than the general, but miſtaken, ſentiments of his countrymen, who laid hold of his pleading againſt the independency of the two houſes upon the crown, as if he meant that they ought to be dependent upon the miniſter.

It appears, however, from the whole tenour of his ſpeech, that, by the word *independency*, he underſtood no more than the deſtruction of that relation, which the conſtitution eſtabliſhes among all the conſtituent parts of the legiſlature, and which, if diſſolved, muſt be attended with the ruin of the whole; becauſe it never can be diſ-

ſolved, unleſs one houſe ſhould arrogate to itſelf powers inconſiſtent, not only with the general plan of public welfare, which the conſtitution propoſes, but with that executive power, which it veſts in the crown, and without which all the operations of government ceaſe.

It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that his lordſhip made uſe of a very unlucky phraſe; and it is ſurprizing with what diſingenuity its ſenſe was wreſted and diſtorted, in order to perſuade the public, that there was a ſettled deſign to overturn the conſtitution, by deſtroying the independency of the two houſes of parliament.

The ſpeech, accompanied with notes and commentaries, which entirely perverted its meaning, was hackneyed round the kingdom; and none of the common writers for the miniſtry had knowledge enough of the conſtitution of their country, to vindicate the ſpeaker from the charge brought againſt him.

The minority imagined, that their bad ſucceſs in the affair of the addreſs was chiefly owing to the negligence of their friends, many of whom had not yet come to town, and whom, nevertheleſs, they could not compel to attend in the houſe, ſooner than was conſiſtent with their own convenience.

ence. This occaſioned a new and diverting ſcheme of compulſion.

A call of the houſe being ordered and held, two members, who were conſidered as of the country-party, were, for non-attendance, moved, by their friends, to be taken into cuſtody. They were excuſed, however, by the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the court; and the ſame was the caſe with ſeveral others: ſome on account of their indiſpoſition; others, on pretence of their being on the road,

This conduct of the court was certainly unparliamentary, as the attendance of every member in the houſe is to be conſidered not a matter of choice but an indiſpenſable duty. Beſides, as they form part of the great council of the nation, the ſovereign has a right, by the conſtitution of England, to inſiſt, that the full complement of his counſellors ſhould attend his ſervice, upon the *high and arduous* matters that came before the parliament relating to the public. The courtiers themſelves ſeem to have been ſenſible of their indiſcretion; for, in order to compromiſe the matter, they agreed to the appointing of certain days, within which the abſentees ſhould attend; and if they neglected they were then to be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms.

The intention of all this preparation on the part of the minority, was another attack, which they meditated, upon the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops in the pay of Great-Britain. When this affair was brought into the houſe, a violent debate enſued. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, though in his heart a ſtaunch Whig, happened, in the preſent caſe, to adopt a maxim which has been peculiar to the Tories, ever ſince the downfal of their party. He ſaid, that many wars had broke out on the Continent, which, though foreign to the intereſts of England, England had been obliged to ſupport.

The arguments on both ſides were much the ſame with thoſe that have already been mentioned. The following, however, ſeem ſomewhat new, and are worthy of particular notice. It was urged, in defence of the meaſure, that commerce has connected England with the Continent, though nature has disjoined her from it: that the Engliſh, by their influence on the affairs of the Continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and, in order to maintain theſe, they were ſometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that ſome of the countries of Europe, which conſumed a great many of the Engliſh commodities, had ſo little communication with the ſea, that they were inacceſſible to our fleets; and

and therefore, if they laid the trade of the Engliſh under any hardſhips or inconveniencies, or offered them any inſults or indignities, the Engliſh had no other means of aſſerting their rights and revenging their wrongs, than by employing ſome of the powerful ſtates upon the Continent to wreak their reſentment: that this had frequently been found a very uſeful expedient to England; but ſhe could no longer avail herſelf of it, than while ſhe was ready, in her turn, to perform the more friendly offices to thoſe potentates: that it was upon this principle the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Heſſian troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and that theſe two meaſures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obſtinacy of the emperor: that upon the ſame principle was founded the treaty of Seville; which, by our engaging for the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of theſe garriſons: that he had nothing to dread in Germany but the Heſſians, who were in Britiſh pay: and that the diſmiſſion of theſe forces, at preſent, would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which

which might coſt Great-Britain many millions before it could be extinguiſhed. Such were the arguments that determined the parliament to continue the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops, as likewiſe the ſubſidy to the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbottel.

The two parties were at this time exaſperated againſt each other to the higheſt degree of animoſity and reſentment. The court writers charged the minority with ſedition and defamation, and with employing every art that could alienate the attention of his majeſty's ſubjects from his perſon and government. They challenged them to ſhew a ſingle inſtance of any violation of the laws, of any encroachment upon the liberties of the people, of any infringment of the act of ſettlement, of any deviation from the true intereſt of Great-Britain.

The minority, inſtead of giving a reply, reſolved to redouble their attacks. They took into their pay one Amherſt, a man of proffligate principles, needy, bold, impudent, and ſcurrilous, poſſeſſed of ſome academical learning, a very ſmall ſhare of wit, and little or no political knowledge. Such was the perſon, who was pitched upon to be the ſtanding author of the Craftſman; an anti-miniſterial paper, which appeared about this period.

period. But the defects of the regular author were amply supplied by the occasional ones; who were no other than the leaders of the opposition themselves; the principal were, the lord Bolingbroke and Mr. William P. afterwards advanced to the peerage.

A single periodical paper, however well conducted, was insufficient for discharging all the arrows, which the minority aimed at the government: they therefore published a great number of occasional pamphlets, which were answered with equal acrimony, but with less wit and satire, and less knowledge of politics and history, than appeared in the writings of the other party.

Among the rest, one appeared under the title of, "A proper Reply to a late scurrilous libel, called, Sedition and Defamation displayed." This last was supposed to have been wrote by the lord Hervey, who taxed Mr. William P. with being the author of the Reply. Mr. P. seeming to acknowledge the charge, some recriminations passed between the gentlemen, and the animosity, from a political, was soon converted into a personal quarrel. Lord Hervey challenged Mr. P. to fight in the Green Park: the challenge was accepted: Mr. Fox, member for Shaftsbury, was second

cond to lord Hervey; Sir John Ruſhout to Mr. P. Fortune declared againſt the noble combatant; he received two ſlight wounds, and narrowly eſcaped being run through the body, but the antagoniſts being parted, no farther harm enſued to their perſons.

It was about this time, that the people of England began to ſeek redreſs for a grievance, under which they had long laboured. They thought it abſurd and oppreſſive, that, after having got rid of a religion which had been taught them in an unknown tongue, they ſhould ſtill be peſtered with law proceedings in the ſame tongue, or, what was worſe, an unintelligible jargon of it.

The firſt petitions on this head came from Yorkſhire; and the committee to whom they were referred, reported to the houſe, that the proceedings in the law being in law Latin, abbreviated and wrote in court hands and characters, unintelligible and not legible to the moſt part of the perſons concerned, eſpecially in criminal caſes, were a great delay to juſtice, and occaſioned moſt dangerous frauds: that ſpecial pleadings were very expenſive, intricate, and dilatory; and highly prejudicial to the property of the ſubject: that the recovery of ſmall debts, as the law was now practiſed, was ſo ex-

expenſive, that many prudent people choſe rather to loſe their juſt dues, than go to law for the recovery of them; a circumſtance that tended to the deſtruction of credit, and the great detriment of trade: that the number of attornies admitted in the court of King's-bench, amounted to eleven hundred and fifty-ſeven; and the number of thoſe in the court of Common-pleas exceeded three thouſand.

To a ſet of reſolutions, founded, like theſe, upon the plaineſt and moſt obvious principles of common ſenſe, one would imagine it impoſſible to advance any ſolid, or even plauſible objection. Yet were there not wanting ſome in the houſe of commons, who argued ſtrenuouſly againſt the propoſed alteration, and maintained the neceſſity of retaining the old Latin jargon.

They ſaid, that if the language and writing of the law ſhould be reduced to the modern way of ſpeaking and writing, no man would be at the pains to ſtudy that ancient language and character, in which moſt of our valuable records were wrote; ſo that the uſe of them would, in a few years, be entirely loſt.

To this it was replied, that the neceſſity of ſuch a ſtudy, would prevent it from ever falling into diſuſe; becauſe the lawyers muſt be daily obliged to recur to the old writings

in

in the courſe of their practice; and that even the ſtudy of manuſcripts and other papers, much older than any of our laws or records, was ſtill kept up in England. This anſwer was deemed ſatisfactory: the reſolutions were received; and a bill was framed and enacted, ordaining that all proceſſes and proceedings in law ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language.

A great number of merchants from different parts of the nation, repeated the complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies; their petitions were referred to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be juſt. A motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavours to prevent ſuch depredations for the future, and to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects, the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America.

The minority were not ſatisfied with this motion: they were determined, if poſſible, to force the miniſtry into a war. They therefore propoſed an amendment, to repreſent, that, notwithſtanding the former appli-

plications of this houſe to his majeſty, in relation to the depredations made by the Spaniards upon the effects of his majeſty's trading ſubjects, and his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction for the ſame, and to prevent the like for the future; and, notwithſtanding the treaty concluded at Seville, it appeared to the houſe, that the Spaniards had continued their depredations, and treated his majeſty's ſubjects with the utmoſt barbarity; and therefore, moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures, as might be effectual to prevent the like for the future.

In ſupport of this amendment, the party exerted themſelves with great vigour and activity. They alledged, that it was extremely improbable, that the nation ſhould ever receive any ſatisfaction from Spain by fair means; and that, to delay matters longer, would, in fact, be giving up all the Britiſh commerce in America: that the depredations complained of, were not the clandeſtine acts of a few petty pyrates; but open captures made in conſequence of the expreſs orders of the court of Spain, whoſe avowed intention it ſeemed to be, to extirpate the Britiſh commerce in the Weſt-Indies.

It was urged on the other hand, that the firſt propoſed addreſs was all that the houſe could properly, prudentially, or decently lay before the throne, in which the power of peace and war was inveſted: that orders had been ſent by the court of Spain, to their governours to put a ſtop to thoſe depredations; and that his Catholic majeſty, having, in fact, by the treaty of Seville, engaged to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects from the Spaniards in America, it was evident, that he could have no thought of any ſuch ſcheme, as the gentlemen, who were for the amendment, had mentioned: that, beſides, the captures alledged, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, were but very few, and very doubtful; nor could any thing be more abſurd, than for that houſe to make themſelves judges of matters that ought to come within the cognizance of a court of admiralty only: and, finally, that, before the houſe could take upon them to adviſe his majeſty to proceed to hoſtilities, which was the tendency of the amendment, they ought to be quite clear as to the facts, which they could not be without hearing both parties; whereas they had as yet heard only one party. After a great debate the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs preſented in its

in original form. Such were the principal tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which was finiſhed in the month of May by a ſhort ſpeech from the throne.

The depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their backwardneſs in executing the treaty of Seville, had provoked the Engliſh miniſtry to ſuch a degree, that they made propoſals to the court of Vienna for a private negociation, which was ſoon after brought to perfection.

In the mean time, the emperor continued to exclaim againſt that treaty, which he repreſented as an inſult upon him, as head of the empire. He ſaid, that Don Carlos ought to have been eſtabliſhed in Italy, and the ſucceſſion of his dominions ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the conſent of the empire; both which were ready when demanded: and he alledged, what was afterwards juſtified by the event, that the acceſſion of Don Carlos to the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Madrid.

In the beginning of the year, the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared, that his dutcheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; intreating the powers of Europe to have

compassion upon his people and defer the execution of their projects, until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, prove a female, or, if a male die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the dutchy.

Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial horse, immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared, they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation; and leave the administration entirely to the regents, whom the duke had appointed. They publickly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these dutchies for the infant Don Carlos; and that, if the dutchess Dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor, whenever he pleased, provided he came without any army.

Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain, and the States-General interposed their mediation so effectually with the emperor, that he desisted from the prosecution of his designs; on the sixteenth day of May the secret negociation between the courts of

of London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty.

This agreement implied a mutual guaranty of the territories belonging to the contracting powers; and a general guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of the female heirs of the emperor. His Imperial majesty engaged to recall his forces from the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, and to consent to the introduction of Spanish troops into those dominions.

He likewise promised, that the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally abolished: and that the English, with regard to their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nation. The States general were included as one of the contracting parties in this treaty; but the nature of their government not admitting of an immediate resolution, their accession at present could not be obtained.

Such was the substance of the negociation of Vienna, which was represented by the minority in England, as crude, contradictory, and inconsistent with former treaties. The reader, now that the temporary rage of party has subsided, may judge for himself.

It is certain, that this treaty brought the ſyſtem of power in Europe back to that poiſe, which has always been moſt favourable to the intereſt of Great-Britain. His majeſty, by the eaſy and natural expedient of guarantying the Pragmatic Sanction, a point in itſelf of the greateſt conſequence to England, found means once more to unite himſelf with the houſe of Auſtria. The performance of his engagements with Spain was rendered practicable without expence or trouble. The Oſtend company, which had given ſo juſt an alarm to England and Holland, was formally aboliſhed, and the States-general were effectually ſecured on every ſide.

The court of Spain expreſſing ſome doubts of the pregnancy of the dutcheſs of Parma, ſhe underwent an examination by five midwives of different nations, in preſence of the elder dutcheſs dowager, ſeveral ladies of quality, and three phyſicians and ſurgeons; and was declared with child. Nevertheleſs, after keeping all Europe in ſuſpence for ſix months, ſhe owned ſhe had been deceived; and general Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took formal poſſeſſion of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia.

Spain and the great duke of Tuſcany having acceded to the treaty of Vienna, Great-

Great-Britain engaged to furniſh an armament for conveying Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly Sir Charles Wager ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron from Portſmouth, on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spaniſh fleet and tranſports, they ſailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos paſſed through part of France; and embarking at Antibes on board the Spaniſh gallies, landed at Leghorn in December. The Imperial general was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he withdrew his forces into the Milaneze; and the infant took poſſeſſion of his new territories.

The Engliſh miniſtry now challenged the boldeſt of their enemies to mention a ſingle circumſtance neceſſary for the peace of Europe, or the proſperity of Great-Britain, that had been neglected. His majeſty expreſſed the ſame ſentiments in his ſpeech at the opening of the parliament which met on the thirteenth of January.*

He ſaid that the general tranquility of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully an-

* A. D. 1732.

anſwered: that the ſhare of credit and influence which the crown of Great-Britain had had in accompliſhing that difficult and diſagreeable work, and which redounded ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it was univerſally confeſſed abroad, would, he was confident be agreeable to his people, and acknowledged with gratitude by his parliament: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the meaſures, which the contracting powers had concerted for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various, jarring, and contending intereſts, hard to be reconciled and united, in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the ambitious view and hopes of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages; and the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned; all theſe oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpence and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of this nation: that the preſent happy ſituation of affairs, would, he promiſed

promiſed himſelf, inſpire them with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the publick welfare as became a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſings they enjoyed: that the duty and affection of his ſubjects was all the return he deſired for his paternal care and concern for them: that his government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of his people; and their happineſs had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government: "Our ſafe-"ty," ſaid he, "is mutual: our intereſts "inſeparable."

From the general tenour of this ſpeech it is evident, that his majeſty and his miniſters imagined, the wiſdom and ſucceſs of their conduct muſt have ſtopped the mouth of all oppoſition; and have given entire ſatisfaction to the nation. The anti-courtiers, it is certain, during the receſs of parliament, had repeatedly affirmed, both in their writings and converſation, that Don Carlos could never be quietly ſettled in Italy: that the nation was on the eve of a war with France; and the negociations muſt prove abortive, or detrimental to Great Britain. Happily for the public, though perhaps to their own ſorrow, they were diſappointed in all their conjectures.

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Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, their oppoſition ſtill continued as violent as ever; nor did they ſeem diſcouraged by a conſiderable loſs, which the party had lately ſuſtained, in the death of Mr. Daniel Pulteney.

The commons had no ſooner returned to their houſe, than a motion was made for an addreſs of thanks, congratulating his majeſty on the wiſdom and ſucceſs of his meaſures in effecting, without bloodſhed, the ſettlement of Don Carlos in Italy, and procuring a durable peace to Great-Britain.

The minority were ſomewhat at a loſs how to diſpute theſe plain propoſitions, or deny the merit that was due to the miniſtry, after having ſo frequently foretold the impoſſibility of their ſucceeding. They therefore had recourſe to other topics. They inſiſted upon the continuance of the Spaniſh depredations, and upon their ignorance of the nature of the treaties, which had not yet been laid before the houſe; and they thence inferred the impropriety of the motion.

Mr. William Pulteney thought that the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction had been delayed too long; and expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the court of Verſailles would accuſe the Engliſh miniſtry of a breach of good faith, in concluding the treaty of Vienna,

enna, without their participation. Sir William Wyndham affected to ridicule the miniſtry for the inconſiſtency of their negociations, as he termed it; and praiſed the Imperial court, which, by its wiſdom and ſteadineſs, he ſaid, had compaſſed its own ends.

Mr. Oglethorpe was of opinion, that the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction did not ſo nearly concern the nation, as did the obtaining reparation for the Spaniſh depredations, the procuring the demolition of Dunkirk, and the putting the militia upon ſuch a footing as might render them more uſeful in caſe of an invaſion. He mentioned the hardſhips which the Proteſtants in Germany ſuffered from the houſe of Auſtria; and expreſſed his hopes, that, before the Dutch acceded to the treaty of Vienna, ſuch explanations and conceſſions would be made by the emperor, as ſhould ſecure the future tranquillity of Europe.

The motion was defended by Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Horace Walpole. The former obſerved, that decency required them to return his majeſty thanks for the aſſurances he had given them: that they were bound to believe theſe aſſurances to be true, till they ſhould be convinced of the contrary: that, ſhould ever that be the caſe, they would then

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be at liberty to diſapprove, notwithſtanding any reſolution they might now embrace: that the Spaniſh depredations was a matter foreign to the queſtion now before them: that his majeſty had done all in his power to have them diſcontinued: that he had ſo far ſucceeded as to prevail with the court of Spain to write, in very expreſs terms to their governours in America for that purpoſe: and, with regard to the reparation, that could only be procured in the method his majeſty was then purſuing, by commiſſaries who were to aſcertain the validity of the claims, and the amount of the loſſes.

Mr. Walpole made a long ſpeech, in which he juſtified the miniſtry in every ſtep they had taken. He ſhewed, that they could not, conſiſtently with the national honour and intereſt, have ſooner guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; inaſmuch as they were not ſure but the emperor deſigned Don Carlos for his ſon-in-law: a circumſtance, that, conſidering his near relation to the crown of Spain, and the extenſive dominions he was to poſſeſs in Italy, might have proved fatal to the repoſe of Europe. He denied that there was any coldneſs between the two courts of London and Verſailles. He affirmed, that had the former guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction ſooner, Don Carlos might

might have met with invincible obſtacles to his ſucceſſion; and that, in all probability, neither the Dutch nor Great-Britain would have been able to perſuade the emperor to give up the Oſtend company, or to do them juſtice in other reſpects. After a long debate, the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion; and the ſame example was followed by the lords.

The next ſubject of importance which came before the commons, was the number of land-forces. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, Sir William Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved, that the ſame number of troops which had been maintained in the preceding year, ſhould be continued in the preſent.

The motion was ſupported by Sir William Young and lord Hervey, who endeavoured to ſhew, that ever ſince the Revolution, the government had never reduced its forces, without having cauſe to repent it, by the encouragement which ſuch reductions gave to their foreign and domeſtic enemies. They expatiated on the wiſdom of his majeſty, and his tenderneſs for the liberties of his people, together with the jealouſy of the parliament, which would never ſuffer any parliamentary army to ſubvert either the freedom or the property of the ſubject.

The motion was oppoſed by Sir William Wyndham, who, after a tedious recapitulation of what had happened under king William, denied that the reduction of the army was the reaſon that obliged him to agree to the partition treaty, which Sir William Young affirmed to be the caſe. He extolled the native bravery of the Britiſh nation, which was able to defend itſelf againſt all invaſions, without having recourſe to a ſtanding army.

He denied that there was a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction in the kingdom, or that a parliamentary army was leſs dangerous to the conſtitution than any other; for, if it continued to be kept from year to year, it became, to all intents and purpoſes a ſtanding army, and was big with all the evils that were to be dreaded from ſuch an army. He alledged, that the people might, in the end, be driven into the deſperate reſource of fighting for their liberties, even againſt the parliament; but added he, in concluſion, "woe to thoſe men, who adviſe ſuch meaſures as may produce ſuch fatal effects! "I wiſh that neither God nor man may "ever pardon the authors of ſo much miſery."

Mr Pelham laying hold of theſe words, "And I join," ſaid he, "moſt ſincerely

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"with the honourable member in wiſhing "that neither God nor man may forgive "thoſe, who have been, or ſhall be the "authors of our being obliged to fight for "our liberties. The caſe has happened. "We have been, and that within theſe "twenty years, obliged to fight for our "liberties, and all that can or ought to be "dear to us; and notwithſtanding that "circumſtance, many of thoſe, who had "been the chief authors of that calamity, "have been forgiven; I mean, Sir, by man at "leaſt." The Tories exclaimed againſt the ſeverity of this ſpeech, which they called ſcurrility; but thoſe, who remembered Sir William's conduct in the different periods of his life, thought the chaſtiſement very properly beſtowed.

All the arguments againſt a ſtanding army. which have already been mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, were repeated upon the preſent occaſion. Hiſtory, ancient and modern, was ranſacked for invidious parallels. The Roman armies, who had ſubverted the liberties of their country, were mentioned, together with Cromwel's and that of king James.

The courtiers replied, that there was no ſimilarity between the caſes, inaſmuch as the preſent army was kept on foot by the

parliament, whereas the armies which had formerly ſubverted the conſtitution of England, had been kept on foot againſt the conſent of parliament. The minority inſiſted, that the very army, which deſtroyed the conſtitution under Oliver Cromwell, was originally a parliamentary army, nay, more ſo than the preſent, becauſe it was raiſed at firſt to defend the parliament againſt the king; but that it turned againſt the parliament, as much as againſt the king, as ſoon as its leaders found that the parliament wanted to force them into its meaſures and then diſband the army.

Theſe remarks were anſwered by Sir Robert Walpole, who ſaid, that there could be no danger of that ſort from the preſent army, which was commanded by men, whoſe properties were too conſiderable to ſuffer them to head, or even to encourage any attempt againſt the parliament, or the civil conſtitution of their country: that all arguments drawn from paſt times againſt a regular military force were foreign to the purpoſe, conſidering the vaſt alterations which had been introduced into the civil ſyſtem of Great-Britain, and of all Europe; that England was now a commercial nation, and could not ſpare from her trade and manufactures

mufactures a number of men ſufficient to defend her as a militia, in caſe ſhe was attacked by regular troops, great armies of which were now kept on foot by all her neighbours: that the maintaining the propoſed number of troops was not only dictated by prudence, but, if the matter was duly conſidered, by œconomy likewiſe: that, ſhould the army be reduced, the nation would be in the moſt imminent danger from the deſigns of Jacobites and diſaffected perſons: and finally that it was well known, that the Papiſts and Jacobites were then, and always had been, the moſt forward in the cry for the reduction of the army.

Mr. Plummer having ſaid, that ſo great an army threw a vaſt power into the hands of the miniſter, who might, if he pleaſed, ſend whole regiments to eat up the eſtates of any man who incurred his diſpleaſure by voting againſt him in the houſe; Sir William Strickland, the then preſent, and Mr. Pelham, the late ſecretary at war, ſolemnly diſclaimed all knowledge of any ſuch abuſes in the quartering of ſoldiers.

The latter added, that, during the time he was in that office, there never had been any complaints made to him, without his having immediately given relief to the perſons who thought themſelves aggrieved, or

aſſigned ſuch reaſons for his non compliance as to them ſeemed ſatisfactory: that in ſuch caſes he never had any reſpect of perſons; ſo far from it, that he had often, when deſired, recalled the troops from the eſtates of thoſe, with whom he never had voted, nor, he believed, never ſhould vote in that houſe, and ordered them to be ſent and quartered upon thoſe, with whom he had always agreed in opinion. Theſe words, delivered with that candour and ingenuity which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed this worthy patriot, convinced the houſe of the injuſtice of the charge, and, for once, ſtopped the mouths of the oppoſition.

A member having complained of the great expence of maintaining the army, Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtence of eighteen thouſand men in England, would maintain fifty thouſand French or Germans, or the ſame number of almoſt any other people on the Continent: that this difference however was owing to a circumſtance which he would neither pretend to condemn nor juſtify; it proceeded from the great number of officers, and the ſmall number of private men, which a Britiſh army contained. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the minority, the houſe reſolved

reſolved to continue the army without any reduction.

The miniſter, conſcious of his own unpopularity, reſolved, at this time, to make an attempt to recover his credit with the landed gentlemen of England. This was no other than a ſcheme to give them ſome relief by reviving the duty upon ſalt, in order the more eaſily to lighten the burden of the land-tax.

Accordingly, in a grand committee of the houſe, Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, that in raiſing the ſupplies granted, his majeſty's intention was, that the burden ſhould fall as equally as poſſible upon his ſubjects: that it had long lain upon the gentlemen of the landed intereſt: that no tax could be more general than that upon ſalt, or more tolerable to individuals, be they ever ſo poor; and that the land-tax had continued theſe forty years, and affected the land-holders only. He therefore moved, that, towards raiſing the public ſupplies, the ſeveral duties on home-made ſalt, granted to the late king William and queen Mary, by an act of the fifth and ſixth years of their reign, and alſo the additional duties on ſalt granted by an act of the ninth and tenth year of king William, which had ceaſed and determined on the twenty-fifth day of December 1730, ſhould be

be revived and granted to his majesty, for the term of three years, from the twenty-fifth of March ensuing.

In support of this motion, he said, that he hoped that, next year, the land-tax might be reduced to one shilling in the pound: that that tax, at its present height, bore extremely hard upon many ancient English families, who had many children, and but small estates to support them; but, by the reduction of it, they might be restored to their ancient hospitality and figure in their several counties, both which were now, by the pressure of the land-tax, greatly diminished.

This speech, however plausible, made not so strong an impression upon the house, as the author expected. It was answered by Mr. Plummer, who said, that the cause for taking off the salt duty in 1730, were such as must always exist against reviving it; because it was very justly deemed to be a tax, which of all others, was most burdensome to the poor, and most prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom: that the character of being a right tax, was wanting in this; for so far from taxing the luxuries, it taxed the most ordinary necessaries of life: that the motion, if approved, tended to distress the landed gentlemen, more than the land-tax itself;

itſelf; inaſmuch as, by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, would diſable tenants from paying their rents: and that, moreover, it was highly impolitic, ſince the revival of it might alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty. He deſired every landed gentleman, that heard him, to conſider, what he could make of his eſtate, if we had no trade, no manufacture, nor any number of populous trading towns in England. Who, he aſked would be ſuch a fool, as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land tax, when he muſt pay as much another way, namely for the ſalt made uſe of in his family; and when, at the ſame time, he diminiſhes the yearly income of his eſtate, much more than one ſhilling in the pound, may more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax, he ſaid, was but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate; he might be free of it, or part of it the ſucceeding year, but, if by the decay of trade, and the hardſhip that was laid upon the poor farmer, he ſhould be obliged to lower the rent of his eſtate, that would be a diminution, which, he was afraid, would endure for ever.

Mr. Walpole, reſumiag his diſcourſe, ſaid, that, with regard to an objection which he

he had heard ſtarted, that the revival of the duty would be prejudicial to the commerce of England, he begged leave to obſerve, that, during the thirty-four years that the tax laſted, the trade and commerce of England had made a more rapid progreſs, than ever it had done in any former period; and that the victualling of ſhips at Cork, in order to avoid paying the duty in England, was ſo far from being detrimental, that it was, in fact, beneficial to the kingdom: that, as to another objection, as if the revival of the duty would hurt agriculture, the allegation itſelf was founded on a falſe fact, inaſmuch as that ſpecies of the commodity which was proper for manure, might be had, in any quantity, free from duty.

Some other ſpeeches were made upon the ſubject. The queſtion being, at laſt put, was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of two hundred and twenty-five, againſt one hundred and eighty-ſeven. The bill met with nigh the ſame fate in the upper houſe, where it was violently conteſted, but, finally paſſed.

The next object of importance that engaged the attention of the parliament, was the ſtate of the Charitable Corporation. This company was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1707, Their profeſſed intention was

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to lend money at legal intereſt, to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; to perſons of higher rank, upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but by licences from the crown, they increaſed it to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſquire, member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs. This committee, after a ſtrict ſcrutiny, reported, that for a capital of five hundred thouſand pounds, no equivalent was found; inaſmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thouſand pounds, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not diſcover.

The proprietors preſented a petition to the commons, importing, that, by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital: and that many of the proprietors

prietors were reduced to abſolute beggary: they, therefore, intreated, that, as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, the houſe would be pleaſed to inquire into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners, as the houſe ſhould think proper.

The petition was graciouſly received, and a committee appointed to conduct the inquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Some members of parliament were deeply concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; and met with the fate, which their villainy deſerved Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe, as having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe fraudulent practices; and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, together with their accomplices, Dennis Bond, William Burroughs, George Jackſon, Benjamin Robinſon, Richard Wooley and Thomas Warren, from leaving

leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

In the mean time, the committee received a letter from ſignior John Angelo Belloni, a banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city with all his papers, and confined to the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were tranſmitted to his correſpondent at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up, on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner.

From the ſpirit and complexion of this affair, and the character of the perſons employed to conduct it, the committee inferred, that the whole was an artful contrivance of the Jacobites, concerted on purpoſe to ſerve the cauſe of the pretender, as if he had taken meaſures for arreſting Thompſon, from his zeal for juſtice, and affection to the Engliſh people.

The letter being laid before the commons, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that it was an inſolent audacious libel, attempting, by falſe and inſidious inſinuations to impoſe upon the parliament and people of Great-Britain; and, by ſpecious pretences, and profeſſions of eſteem, affection, and compaſſion, to amuſe the unhappy ſufferers of the Charitable Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief, that the ſaid letter

was, in itself, absurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the stile of power and authority, or as proceeding from some extraordinary interest and influence, but concluding in the person and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed upon certain conditions in behalf John Thompson to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the said Thompson; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompson, seemed at the same time to be vague, evasive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himself and his accomplices, without any prospect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole transaction appeared to be a scandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy, and partly to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person crown and dignity. They therefore voted, that the said infamous libel should be burned at the Royal-Exchange by the hands of the common hangman.

The pension-bill was revived for the third time, and passed the house of commons; but was rejected in that of the lords. A bill for encouraging the growth of coffee in the plantations was carried through both houses, without any difficulty, and enacted into

into a law. Another for the better ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by farther qualifying members to ſit in the houſe of commons was read a third time, and thrown out upon the queſtion. A committee was appointed to inquire into the eſtate, which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the ſale had been fraudulent: a bill was brought in to make it void: Dennis Bond, Eſq; and ſerjeant Birch, commiſſioners for the ſale of the forfeited eſtates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and expelled the houſe, of which they were members.

George Robinſon, Eſq; underwent the ſame ſentence, on account of the part he had acted in the Charitable Corporation, as he and Thompſon had neglected to ſurrender themſelves, according to the terms of a bill which had paſſed for that purpoſe. All the ſupplies were granted, and, among other articles, the ſum of two and twenty thouſand, ſix hundred and ninety four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence, for the agio, or difference between the money of Hamburgh and that of Denmark in the ſubſidies payable to that crown by the king of France, who refuſed to make good the difference, which therefore his Britannic majeſty engaged to diſcharge.

Mr. William P. now earl of B. had by his ſpeeches within doors, and his writings and converſation without, rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious to the court, that the king called for the council-book, and with his own hand, ſtruck his name out of the liſt of privy-counſellors. His majeſty farther ordered him to be put out of all the commiſſions of the peace. The ſeveral lord-lieutenants, from whom he had received commiſſions, were commanded to revoke them; and the lord-chancellor and ſecretaries of ſtate were directed to give the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe.

On the firſt day of June the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which among others, were the following expreſſions; "It "is unneceſſary for me," ſaid he, "to re- "preſent to you the ſtate and ſituation of "publick affairs both at home and abroad: "you muſt all be ſenſible of what is univer- "ſally ſeen and felt in the full enjoyment "of a general peace. The acceſſion of the "States-general to the treaty of Vienna, "has perfected the eſtabliſhment of the "public tranquillity, as far as reaſon and "prudence can foreſee; to adhere to a faith- "ful obſervance and execution of the treaties "and alliances ſubſiſting among the ſeveral "princes and powers of Europe, free from ground-

" groundleſs jealouſies, and void of all am-
" bitious views, will be the moſt effectual
" means to preſerve theſe bleſſings to us."
He then acquainted them with his intention of viſiting his German dominions, for which he ſet out in the beginning of June.

The ſituation of affairs upon the continent, ſeemed perfectly agreeable to his majeſty's declaration. The States-General had ſucceeded in forwarding the project of a marriage between the eldeſt archdutcheſs of Auſtria and the duke of Lorrain; by which means the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions, the great object of the Pragmatic Sanction, was ſecured, without ſubjecting Europe to any apprehenſions of danger by her matching with a more powerful prince. They had obtained a full and perpetual aboliſhment of the Oſtend company; and all their diſputes with the emperor in Eaſt-Frieſland were adjuſted to their entire ſatisfaction.

The court of Vienna ſeemed cordially to return to its ancient ſyſtem of harmony and friendſhip with Great-Britain; but carried its perſecutions againſt its Proteſtant ſubjects to ſuch a height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpoſe in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the blind deference

of the ſovereign to that miniſter, ſtill continued to be diſtracted with religious diſſenſions, which, while they deſtroyed her own internal tranquillity, rendered her incapable of diſturbing that of her neighbours.

Spain, having compaſſed her favourite point of ſettling Don Carlos in Italy, now meditated an expedition, in which ſhe appeared to have been prompted rather by the genius of the people, than the true intereſt of their country. It was directed againſt Oran, a town of ſome conſequence, which lies oppoſite to Carthagena, and which the Spaniards, after having poſſeſſed for two hundred years, had loſt to the Moors in 1708.

A ſtrong armament being equipped for the purpoſe, the fleet ſailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coaſt of Barbary, in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a conſiderable body of foot was landed without much oppoſition. Next morning, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a compleat victory. The bey, or governour of Oran, immediately retired with his garriſon, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the place without reſiſtance. The ſtrong

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fort of Mazalquiver was likewiſe ſurrendered to the victor at the firſt ſummons; ſo that this expedition fully anſwered the purpoſe for which it had been undertaken.

Victor Amadæus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the inſtigation of his wife, engaged in ſome intrigues, in order to re-aſcend the throne, his ſon, the reigning king, ordered his perſon to be ſeized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong guard. His wife, the counteſs of Sebaſtian, was confined to Ceva.

The diſpute, that had long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the young prince of Orange, touching his ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by William the third, as head of the houſe of Orange, was at laſt adjuſted by a formal treaty, ſigned at Berlin and Dieren. In the courſe of this year the prince royal, now king of Pruſſia, eſpouſed the princeſs of Bevern; a match, which, however diſagreeable to himſelf, was conſidered as the price of his being re-admitted into favour with his father.

End the THIRTY-FIFTH VOLUME.